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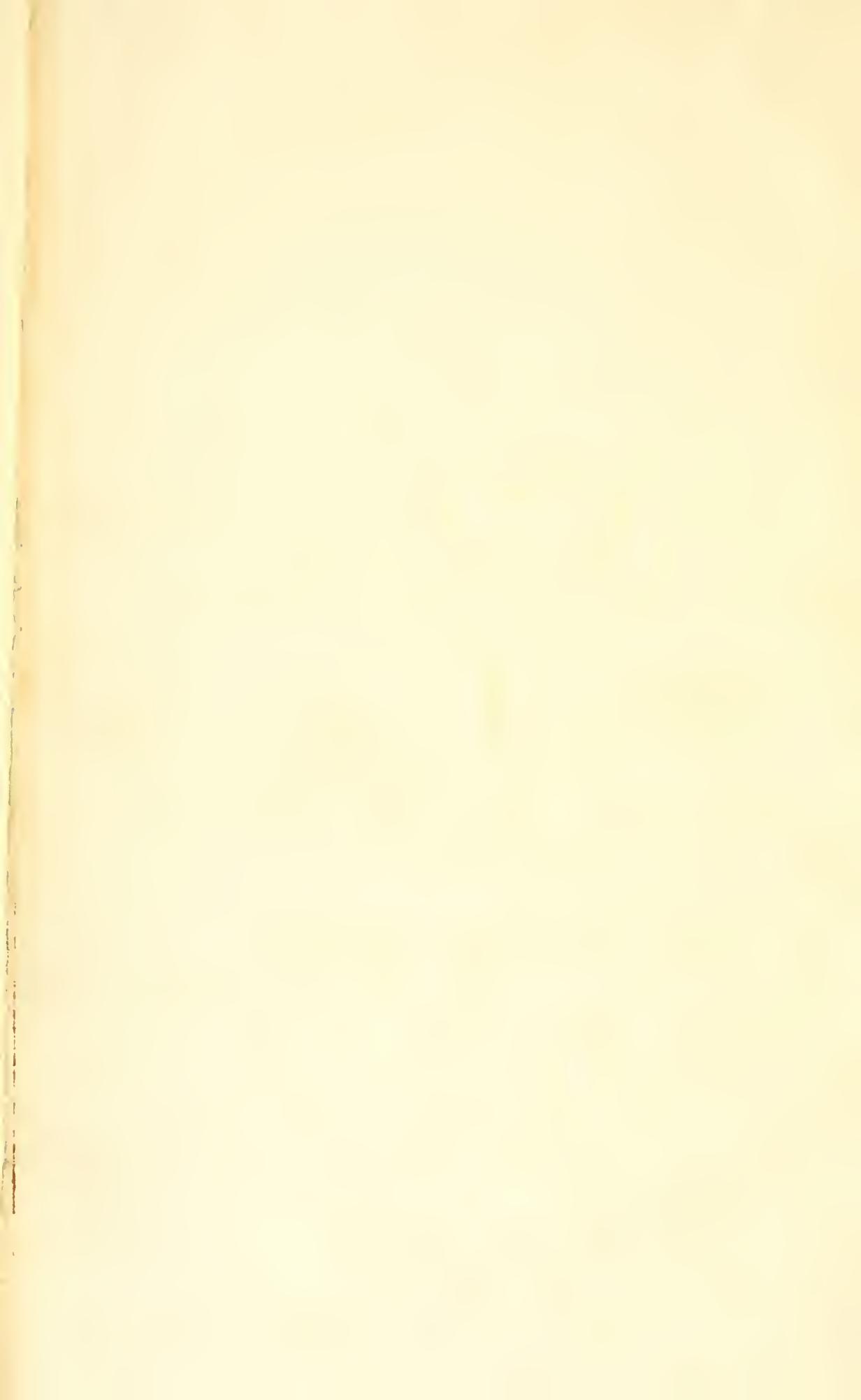
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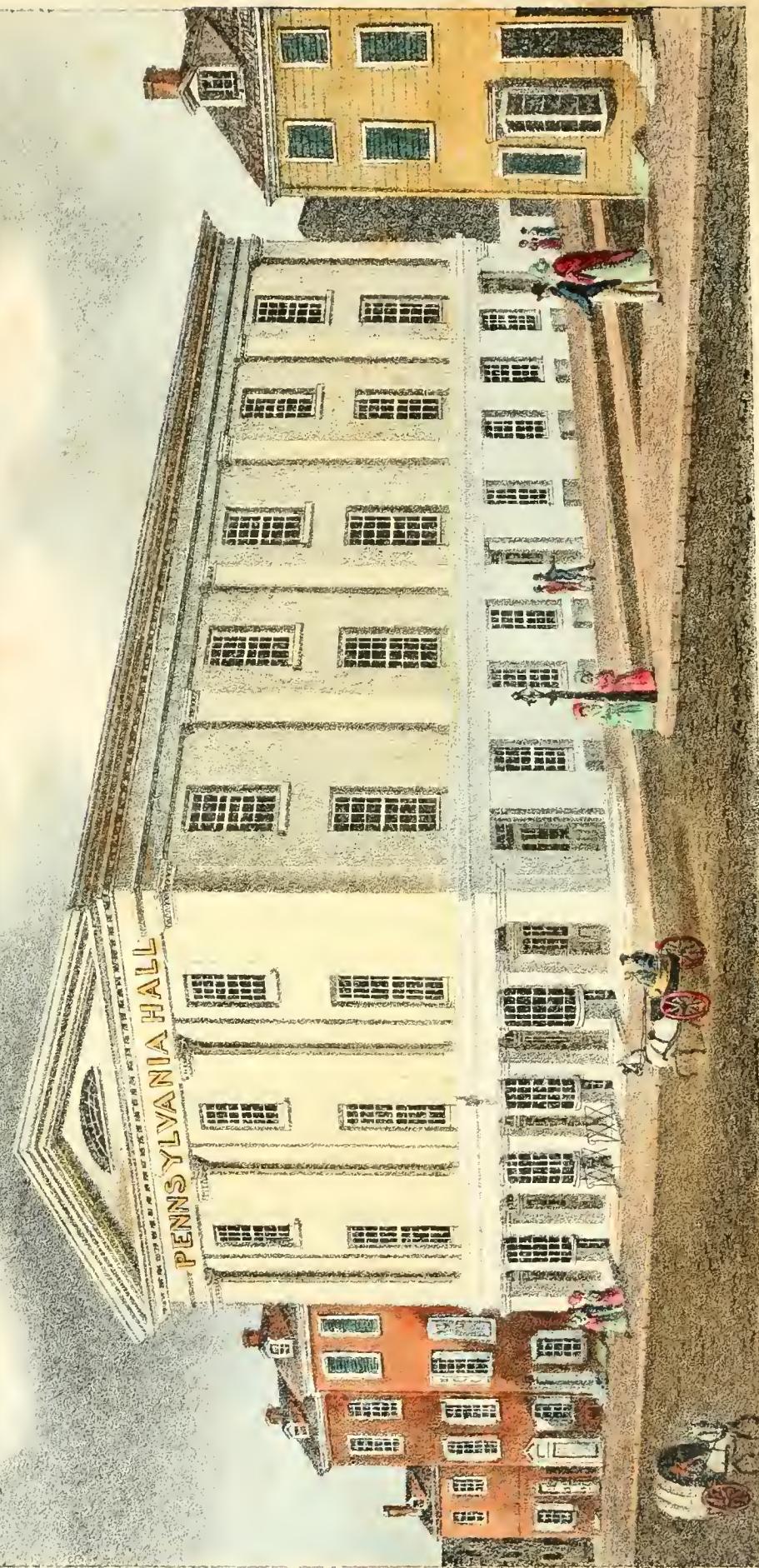
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Philadelphia

Pennsylvania







HISTORY

OF

Anti-Slavery

Conventions

PENNSYLVANIA HALL,

WHICH WAS

DESTROYED BY A MOB,

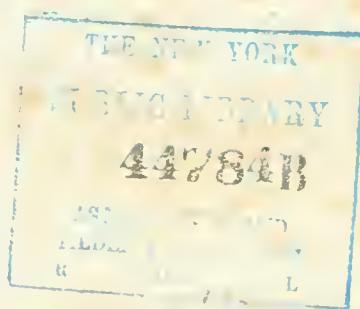
On the 17th of May, 1838.

“Error of opinion may be safely tolerated, where reason is left free to combat it.”—Jefferson.
Is truth more dangerous than error?

PHILADELPHIA:
PRINTED BY MERRIHEW AND GUNN,
No. 7 Carter’s Alley.

.....

1838
R.B.P.



PENNSYLVANIA HALL.

THIS beautiful building, which was destroyed by a mob on the night of the 17th of the Fifth Month, (May,) 1838, was situated at the south-west corner of Delaware Sixth street and Haines street, (between Cherry and Sassafras streets,) in the city of Philadelphia. It was about sixteen feet

ERRATA.

Page 78—in caption of Alvan Stewart's Speech, for "on a resolution," read *on Patton's resolution.*

Page 106—twenty-fourth line from top, in part of the edition, for "fourteenth," read *sixteenth.*

sides. At the west end was the forum, on each side of which stood an Ionic column, from which sprang an arch, the soffet or under side whereof was divided into panels filled with roses; over this arch, in large gold letters, was the motto—

"VIRTUE, LIBERTY, AND INDEPENDENCE."

Behind the arch was a dome divided into panels, supported by pilasters and an entablature of the Grecian Ionic order,—the whole forming a chaste and beautiful arrangement. On this forum was a superb desk or altar, with a rich blue silk panel; behind this stood the president's chair; on each side of this was a carved chair for the vice presidents; next to these were sofas; in front of which stood the secretary and treasurer's tables, with chairs to match. All these articles were made of Pennsylvania walnut of the richest quality: the chairs were lined with blue silk plush; the sofas with blue damask moreen; and the tables were hung with blue silk.

The ceiling of the saloon was formed into one large panel, with coves all round the wall; in the centre of this panel was a ventilator nine feet in diameter, having a sunflower in the centre, with gilt rays extending to the circumference. In the centre of the flower was a concave mirror, which at night sparkled like a diamond. In the corners of the ceiling were four quadrant-shaped ventilators of similar construction to that in the centre.

Over the ventilators were trap doors in the roof, which enabled the audience to have a constant stream of pure air passing through the house, without lowering the windows.

This Hall, which was brilliantly lighted with gas, formed altogether one of the most commodious and splendid buildings in the city.

THE NEW YORK

DICTIONARY

14784B

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The second story formed one large saloon, having galleries round three sides. At the west end was the forum, on each side of which stood an Ionic column, from which sprang an arch, the soffet or under side whereof was divided into panels filled with roses ; over this arch, in large gold letters, was the motto—

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TO THE PUBLIC.

THE Managers of the Pennsylvania Hall Association, desirous of retaining the good opinion of their fellow citizens, notwithstanding the absurd and unfounded reports so industriously circulated by the enemies of free discussion, of liberty, and of the rights of man, have concluded to collect together, as far as practicable, all that was said and done in the Pennsylvania Hall, during the brief period of its existence, in order that the cool, deliberate, reflecting portion of the community, may judge whether the Pennsylvania Hall Association did anything that ought to offend any reasonable person.

By reference to the placard which was posted up throughout the city, it will be evident that there was a deliberate, pre-conceived determination on the part of the ring-leaders of the mob, to destroy the Hall, without regard to what might be said at the dedication.

Letters similar to the following were addressed to all the orators :—

To Thomas P. Hunt:

Esteemed Friend,—In pursuance of a unanimous resolution of the Board of Managers of the Pennsylvania Hall Association, I return their thanks to thee for thy address upon Temperance, delivered in the late Pennsylvania Hall, on the evening of the 14th inst., and request a copy for publication.

Respectfully thine, &c.,

SAMUEL WEBB.

Philadelphia, Fifth Month 24th, 1838.

To which Thomas P. Hunt made the following reply :—

MAY 25th, 1838.

To the Managers of the Pennsylvania Hall Association:

Gentlemen,—In compliance with your request, this day received, I send the address on Temperance I delivered in the Pennsylvania Hall, May 14th, 1838.

Permit me to express my gratification at the invitation I received, to deliver an address on Temperance in your Hall. As it was known to you that I was conscientiously opposed to the views of many of the Managers of the Hall on the subject of Abolition, and that I also never had any connection whatever with that Society, the liberality which extends the invitation, with the assurance that the Hall should be opened to any benevolent or moral society, to the Colonization Society, of which I am a firm and decided advocate, was as gratifying as it was unusual in these days of bitterness, and of exclusion.

I regret that the Hall has been destroyed. I despise alike the spirit that

instigated, and that defends, or justifies, or palliates the shameful, sinful, cowardly, brutish deed. May God forgive both, and send a better state of feelings and of morals amongst us.

Respectfully,
THOMAS P. HUNT.

The Managers have published the above letter from Thomas P. Hunt, because it will tend to convince all unprejudiced minds that our Association founded the Pennsylvania Hall on no narrow, sectarian, or party views but that it was what it purported to be, a hall for *free discussion*. And in order to make the reader more fully acquainted with the views and objects of the Managers and Stockholders, we subjoin a part of the fundamental articles of the Association :—

“ It shall require five Managers to form a quorum for the transaction of business, who shall meet at least once a month.

They shall superintend the erection of the building, and have full power to make contracts for the use of the same, receive the rents, and after deducting all necessary expenses, shall divide, semi-annually, the net proceeds, or so much thereof as they may deem prudent, among such of the stockholders, as shall have paid all the instalments of their stock, in proportion to the amount held by each, and shall keep a fair record of their proceedings in relation thereto, and submit the same to the stockholders at their annual meeting.—But nothing herein contained shall authorize them to rent the Saloon for any object *subversive of good morals*, or in such manner as shall not afford reasonable and frequent opportunities for the discussion of the subject of Slavery.”

At this time, when a portion of those who formerly *professed* friendship are issuing their disclaimers, when our “prudent friends” are giving unasked counsel, and advice *suggested by their fears*, it is cheering to receive such letters as the following, from DAVID PAUL BROWN, the eloquent orator who delivered the first address at the opening of our Hall.

MAY 24TH, 1838.

Dear Sir,—I have received your communication of yesterday, apprising me of a resolution of the Managers of the Pennsylvania Hall Association, whereby they have kindly expressed their approbation of my humble services upon the dedication of their Hall, and requested a copy of my speech for publication. I have only to say, that the speech and the speaker are both at your service.

Very truly, yours,
DAVID PAUL BROWN.

Samuel Webb, Esq.

OPENING OF THE HALL.

On the 14th of the Fifth month, (May,) 1838, agreeably to public notice, the doors of the PENNSYLVANIA HALL were thrown open, and the spacious saloon was filled with one of the largest audiences ever assembled in this city. The President of the Association, DANIEL NEALL, took the chair at ten o'clock.

The Secretary, WILLIAM DORSEY, then made the following statement:—

“A number of individuals of all sects, and those of no sect,—of all parties, and those of no party,—being desirous that the citizens of Philadelphia should possess a room, wherein the principles of *Liberty*, and *Equality of Civil Rights*, could be freely discussed, and the evils of slavery fearlessly portrayed, have erected this building, which we are now about to dedicate to Liberty and the Rights of Man. The total cost of the building will be about 40,000 dollars. This has been divided into two thousand shares of twenty dollars each. A majority of the stockholders are mechanics, or working men, and, (as is the case in almost every other good work,) a number are females.

The building is not to be used for *Anti-Slavery purposes alone*. It will be rented from time to time, in such portions as shall best suit applicants, for *any purpose not of an immoral character*. It is called “*Pennsylvania Hull*,” in reference to the principles of Pennsylvania; and our motto, like that of the commonwealth, is

“VIRTUE, LIBERTY, AND INDEPENDENCE.”

The following letters were then read:—

Letter of Hon. Francis James, of the Senate of Pennsylvania.

HARRISBURG, Dec. 22d, 1837.

Gentlemen,—I received your favor of the 18th inst. yesterday.

The acceptance of the invitation with which the Managers of the “Pennsylvania Hall Association” have been pleased to honor me, circumstances, not within my control, oblige me respectfully to decline. But I do so with the kindest feelings toward the objects for which the building was erected, and to which it is to be dedicated.

My humble efforts have been uniformly directed to the maintenance of freedom of speech and of the press, as well as to the rights of man generally; and I rejoice to know that there is, at least, one house within this great commonwealth, wherein those rights may be advocated, free from interruption.

Please present my acknowledgments to the Managers of your Association, for the honor intended to be conferred upon me, and accept for yourselves and them assurances of my friendship and regard.

Very respectfully,

FRANCIS JAMES.

Messrs. Samuel Webb and Wm. H. Scott,—Committee.

NORTH EAST, (Pa.) Feb. 5th, 1838.

Christian Friends and Fellow Laborers,—Yours of the 26th ultimo, has just come to hand. Please accept my thanks, and tender them to the Association for which you act, for the kind invitation you have given me to be present at the opening of your Hall, and make an address on the occasion.

In reply, I can only say that it would afford me much pleasure to attend your meeting, but am not yet able to determine whether it will be practicable for me so to do or not; most probably it will not.

If, however, Providence should open the way for it, I will most gladly avail myself of the privilege. At all events, my whole heart is with you in this blessed enterprise of mercy.

Most respectfully,

Yours in the cause of love,

WILLIAM A. ADAIR.

Samuel Webb, J. M. Truman, Wm. McKee, Peter Wright,—Committee.

PETERBORO, Dec. 26th, 1837.

Messrs. S. Webb and Wm. H. Scott.

Much Esteemed Friends,—Your favor of the 18th instant came to hand yesterday. I had, several days before, received the Extra of the National Enquirer, containing a very interesting account of the celebration in “the Carpenter’s Shop,” and my whole heart rejoiced in the noble enterprise of the stockholders and builders of the “Pennsylvania Hall;” long may this Hall stand to testify to the sacred regard for Human Rights in which it originated, and to furnish rich gratifications of the mind to the lovers of Free Discussion.

The honor done me by your Board of Managers is gratefully acknowledged by me; such, however, are my circumstances, and so pressing are the demands on my time, that I cannot accept the invitation “to deliver an address” on the occasion of the opening of the Hall. Be assured that I should rejoice to be with you—with the friends of the Freedom of Speech, and of cherished humanity, on that interesting occasion—but under the claims of my business to my time, I find it very difficult to leave home.

I am, with great regard, your friend,

GERRIT SMITH.

ALTON, March 2, 1838.

To the Committee of the Pennsylvania Hall Association.

Gentlemen,—Your favor of January 26th came to hand last week. And while I shall ever cherish towards you sentiments of gratitude and respect for the honor of your invitation, and the expression of confidence towards one as obscure as myself; and although it would be exceedingly gratifying to my feelings to be present with you at the opening of the “Hall of Liberty,” and to add my feeble testimony to yours in favor of the cause of immediate emancipation, I regret to be under the necessity of announcing to you that circumstances will not permit me to comply with your request. Having been absent from my official charge during last spring and summer, it would be very improper in the peculiarly arduous and responsible station which, in the Providence of God, I am permitted to occupy, to leave for two or three months my field of labor.

Were I to consult my own feelings, merely, I would gladly accede to your invitation, and hasten to your city. But greater and paramount duties seem to forbid. You will therefore, sirs, accept for yourselves, and your honored coadjutors, my warmest thanks; and for the “cause” in which we

have a common interest, my unfeigned sympathies; and that God Almighty may be with you and bless you, shall ever be the prayer of

Your sincere friend,

FREDERICK W. GRAVES.

Samuel Webb, J. M. Truman, Wm. McKee, Peter Wright,—Committee.

NEW YORK, January 3d, 1838.

Messrs. S. Webb and Wm. H. Scott:

My Dear Friends,—I thank you for your kind letter inviting me, in the name of the Managers of the Pennsylvania Hall Association, to deliver an address at the opening of the Pennsylvania Hall for Free Discussion.

It is now a year and a half since I have been prevented from speaking in public, by an affection of the throat, and there is little prospect that I shall be able to do so for months or years, or perhaps ever again, with impunity. Under these circumstances, it is due to the committee and to the cause, respectfully to decline your appointment.

I exult in the erection of your “Temple of Freedom” and the more, as it is the first and only one in a republic of fifteen millions! consecrated to Free Discussion and Equal Rights.

For years they have been banished from our halls of legislation and of justice, from our churches, and our pulpits.—It is befitting, that the city of Benezet and Franklin should be the first to open an asylum, where the hunted exiles may find a home. God grant that your Pennsylvania Hall may be *free indeed*.

The empty *name* is every where,—*free* government, *free* men, *free* speech, *free* people, *free* schools, and *free* churches. Hollow counterfeits, all! *FREE!* It is the climax of irony, and its million echoes are hisses and jeers, even from the earth’s ends. *FREE!* *Blot it out.* Words are the signs of *things*. The substance has gone! Let fools and madmen clutch at shadows. The husk must rustle the more when the kernel and the ear are gone! Rome’s loudest shout for liberty was when she murdered it, and drowned its death-shrieks in her hoarse hussas. She never raised her hands so high to swear allegiance to freedom, as when she gave the death-stab, and madly leaped upon its corpse! and her most delirious dance was among the clods her hands had cast upon its coffin! *FREE!* The word and sound are omnipresent masks, and mockers! An impious lie! unless they stand for *free Lynch Law*, and *free murder*; for they *are free*.

Where are the murderers of Lovejoy? “*Free*;”—going at large with law for a volunteer escort, holding up their bloody hands along the streets of Alton, and telling how they killed him—their lives virtually insured by the official endorsement of the highest legal officer in the state. But, I’ll hold—the times demand brief speech, but mighty deeds. On, my brethren! *uprear your temple!*

Your brother in the

Sacred strife for *all*,

THEODORE D. WELD.

BEDFORD, West Chester County, (N. Y.) January 3d, 1838.

Gentlemen:—It was not till this evening that I had the pleasure of receiving your letter of the 18th ultimo, and the accompanying Enquirer, containing the speeches that were made at the raising of the “Pennsylvania Hall.” Please to present to the Managers my respectful acknowledgments for the compliment they have paid me, in asking me to deliver an address before the Association, at the opening of the building next May, a compliment the more grateful, from the abundant proof afforded by the Enquirer,

that the Association contains within itself, fearless, eloquent, and true-hearted champions of the rights of man. With such men I would esteem it both a pleasure and an honor to co-operate. Whether my engagements in the spring will permit me to comply with the wishes of the Managers, is now too uncertain to justify me in positively accepting their invitation; should I, as is most likely, not be present, I am confident no difficulty will be experienced in filling the place so kindly assigned to me, in the proceedings of the day.

Were any proof wanted of the portentous influence of slavery at the North, it would be furnished by the astounding fact, that in the city of Penn, and in the shadow of the venerable pile, whence our fathers issued their glorious DECLARATION, it is now found necessary to erect an edifice "in which the rights of man may be discussed, and the freedom of speech and the press advocated."

The abolitionists, as a body, have probably never been surpassed, by any extensive association, in rectitude of intention, disinterestedness of motive, and purity of life. Yet, are they hunted as felons at the South, and at the North are abandoned to the mercy of mobs, and, as we are taught by the civil authorities at Alton, may be murdered with impunity.

The present warfare against the freedom of speech, and of the press, against the right of petition, and the constitutional powers of our representatives in Congress, is waged by the competitors of Southern trade, and Southern votes. If these men triumph, our country will be converted into one wide field of cruelty, oppression, and anarchy! The annexation of Texas will subject the whole confederacy to the arrogant dominion of the slaveholders. Lynch clubs will usurp the seat of justice, and the pistol and Bowie knife be substituted for the statute book. Whether they will triumph or not, depends, under Providence, on the abolitionists themselves. If they consult expediency instead of duty—if they fear man rather than God—if they permit sectarian jealousies and political preferences to interrupt their harmonious action, their folly and wickedness will probably be punished by the extension of slavery, and the loss of their own freedom. But if they shall continue to be actuated by the spirit manifested at your meeting of the 25th of November—if with unshrinking firmness they shall maintain and exercise their rights, the liberty of the republic will be preserved.

The abolitionists are already, in some of the free states, sufficiently numerous to control the elections, and probably in all to influence the selection of candidates. Let it once be understood, that whatever may be their individual political sentiments, they will not vote for any candidate of any party who is ready to sell their rights to the slaveholders, and each party will take care to present candidates who are in this respect unexceptionable.

The position now occupied by abolitionists, is one of momentous importance and responsibility. If we succeed, the freedom and happiness of unborn millions will crown our struggle. It is true, we have much to endure, and may be called to endure much more. But we have the sympathy of the whole Christian world, with the exception of a portion of our own countrymen. We have the sanction of our laws, our constitutions, our bills of rights, and our Declaration of Independence; we have the probation of our consciences, and the favor of our God. Let us, then, be steadfast and unmoveable, and, amid perils and outrages, let us not avenge ourselves, but commit our cause to HIM who judgeth righteously.

Accept, gentlemen, the respects of

Your obedient servant,

WILLIAM JAY.

Messrs. Webb and Scott,—Committee.

Letter of Hon. Thaddeus Stevens of the State Legislature.

GETTYSBURG, May 4th, 1838.

Gentlemen:—I have delayed answering your letter of the 10th of December last, until this time, that I might be able to decide with certainty, whether I could comply with your invitation, to be present at the opening of the “Pennsylvania Hall for the Free Discussion of Liberty, and equality of Civil Rights, and the evils of Slavery.”

I regret that I cannot be with you on that occasion. I know of no spectacle which it would give me greater pleasure to witness, than the dedication of a Temple of Liberty. Your object *should* meet with the approbation of every freeman. It *will* meet with the approbation of every man, who respects the rights of others, as much as he loves his own. Interest, fashion, false religion, and tyranny, may triumph for a while, and rob man of his inalienable rights; but the people cannot always be deceived, and will not always be oppressed.

The slaveholder claims his prey, by virtue of that Constitution which contradicts the vital principles of our Declaration of Independence. But while it remains unchanged, it must be supported. If his heart exacts the fulfilment of the cruel bond, let him take the pound of flesh, but not one drop of blood. This we must yield to existing laws, not to our sense of justice. I can never acknowledge the *right* of slavery. I will bow down to no Deity, however worshipped by professing Christians—however dignified by the name of the Goddess of Liberty, whose footstool is the crushed necks of groaning millions, and who rejoices in the resoundings of the tyrant’s lash, and the cries of his tortured victims.

Very respectfully, your obedient servant,

THADDEUS STEVENS.

Samuel Webb, and others,—Committee.

WASHINGTON, January 2d, 1838.

Dear Sir:—I have had the honor to receive a communication signed by yourself and another, a committee in behalf of the Pennsylvania Hall Association, requesting me to be present at the opening of the Hall, and deliver an address on that occasion.

In the invitation thus extended to me, I have an evidence of the confidence of those of my fellow citizens of Philadelphia whom you represent, not less gratifying than it is unexpected. To be thus associated, by those who have engaged in the noble enterprise of erecting a Hall consecrated to free discussion, with the solemnities of its opening, is an honor whose value can be estimated only by that of the noble object with which it is associated—an object identified with the dearest rights and highest interests of man in his social existence.

Nothing could give me greater pleasure than to comply with your invitation; but my duties as a representative in Congress seem to forbid me the gratification. I feel my incompetence to do justice, under any circumstances, to such an occasion as that suggested in your letter, but especially amidst the various and engrossing duties of the station which my fellow citizens have assigned me here. I must, therefore, respectfully decline a compliance with your invitation.

Be pleased to accept for yourself, and your associate committee, and those whom you represent, the assurance of the sincere and respectful regard of

Your fellow citizen,

WILLIAM SLADE.

Mr. Samuel Webb.

The following letter from ex-president ADAMS was received by the audience with much applause :

WASHINGTON, 19th January, 1838.

Samuel Webb and William H. Scott,—*Philadelphia*:

My respected Friends :—I learnt with great satisfaction, by your letter of the 18th of last month, that the Pennsylvania Hall Association have erected a large building in your city, wherein liberty and equality of civil rights can be freely discussed, and the evils of slavery fearlessly portrayed.

The right of discussion upon slavery, and an indefinite extent of topics connected with it, is banished from one-half the states of this Union. It is suspended in both houses of Congress—opened and closed at the pleasure of the slave representation: opened for the promulgation of nullification sophistry; closed against the question, **WHAT IS SLAVERY?** at the sound of which the walls of the capitol staggered like a drunken man.

For this suppression of the freedom of speech, of the freedom of the press, and of the right of petition, the people of the **FREE** states of this Union (by which I mean the people of the non-slaveholding states) are responsible, and the people of Pennsylvania most of all.

Of this responsibility, I say it with a pang sharper than language can express, the city of Philadelphia must take to herself the largest share. And this consideration would compel me to decline the invitation with which the Managers of this Association have honored me, to deliver an address at the opening of the Hall, were it otherwise in my power, as it probably will not be, to attend at the time proposed.

My friends, I have a long-standing, high, respectful, and affectionate attachment to the city of Philadelphia, and its inhabitants. It dates from the day of the Declaration of Independence, and if I were to address them on the opening of your Hall, I should comment upon some of its self-evident truths.

Now a great multitude of the present inhabitants of your city have grown sick of the sound of these self-evident truths, and exceedingly adverse to hearing any comment upon them. If I should make any practical use of my freedom of speech, some would say, he is doling out a farrago of abstractions. Others, what is the use of commenting upon self-evident truths? Others,—not a few,—would kindle into indignation, and say, he is meddling with the *peculiar institutions of the South*; that's unconstitutional! What's that to him? What's that to us? He's a *fanatic*, he is an *incendiary*, he is an *abolitionist*! he is attacking the rights of the states, he is provoking the people of the South, and, Lord have mercy upon us, they will dissolve the Union!

All this I could hear and endure with composure,—all this I have heard before, and shall hear again. But if, while I should be discoursing, a native citizen of Philadelphia should rise, and say, What right have you, sir, to come here, and dogmatize with *us* upon the rights of freedom and the duties of freemen? Is not this the city of William Penn, and do you come here to lecture us upon freedom of conscience? Is not this the city whence issued the Declaration of Independence, and do you come to teach us the doctrine of inalienable rights? Have we so far degenerated from the virtues of our fathers, that we must go to Plymouth for our political creed? Have we no native sons of our own city, capable of explaining to us the principles of human liberty, as well as you?

My true-hearted friends, I should have no answer, satisfactory to myself, to give to such inquiries.

I rejoice that, in the city of Philadelphia, the friends of free discussion

have erected a Hall for its unrestrained exercise. I know that the people of Philadelphia need a voice as of one from the wilderness, to rally them to the standard of human rights, but that voice must come from among themselves. If there is not one native, I say not of Pennsylvania, but of the city of Philadelphia who dares to tell you the truth in tones that shall reach to the sepulchres of the dead, lock up your Hall on the same day that you shall open it, and wait for the appointed time: it will surely come.

I must apologize to you even for writing to you with so much freedom. I hope it may be without offence, for to avoid that is precisely my reason for declining to deliver the address which you invite. Nothing could delight me more than to address the inhabitants of Philadelphia upon the opening in their city of a Hall devoted to free discussion, could I speak to them my whole mind, without giving to many of them great offence.—This would be impossible.

It would have been, perhaps, more discreet to answer that, independent of all other considerations, my detention here in the discharge of indispensable duties, would, in all probability, preclude the possibility of my engaging to visit Philadelphia at the indicated time. I shall, therefore, request you to accept that as my answer, and to consider the remnant of this letter only as a testimonial of my respectful sensibility to your invitation, and of my fervent wishes that the Pennsylvania Hall may fulfil its destination, by demonstrative proof, that freedom of speech in the city of Penn shall no longer be AN ABSTRACTION.

I am faithfully your friend,

JOHN QUINCY ADAMS.

—
DECEMBER 25TH, 1837.

Dear Sirs:—I have just returned from New York, which must account to you for not having earlier answered your letter of the 18th, on the subject of delivering the *first* address in the Pennsylvania Hall. By the first address, I presume you mean a dedicatory address.

For some time past, I have invariably declined applications that might be calculated to take any portion of my time from my profession. But I have *always* said, and now say *again*, that *I will fight the battle of liberty as long as I have a shot in the locker.* Of course, I will do what you require.

Yours truly,

DAVID PAUL BROWN.

S. Webb and Wm. H. Scott, Esqs.

DAVID PAUL BROWN'S ORATION.

I AM here to redeem my pledge—a pledge as freely given, as it shall be fearlessly redeemed. Here in the very centre of fifteen millions of chartered freemen; here in Pennsylvania, the brightest star in the republican constellation; here, where, in seventeen hundred and seventy-six Freedom was proclaimed, and in seventeen hundred and eighty Slavery was abolished, as priest of this day's sacrifices, I solemnly dedicate this temple to Liberty.

Upon such an occasion, what can more obviously furnish the subject for a discourse than the divine attributes of that tutelar divinity, to whom we thus profess our devotion. Liberty, then, my fellow citizens, is the theme upon which I design to dwell,—a theme to every American heart

“Far, far more precious, dear, than life.”

The Liberalia were certain festivals or games of Rome, wherein slaves were permitted to speak with freedom; and all men temporarily assumed, at least, the appearance of independence. This, therefore, may be considered the Liberalia of a country that promises to rival Rome in her most palmy state. Among the hundreds of thousands of the heathen deities none were worshipped with more unqualified devotion than Liberty, by the renowned nations of antiquity; and none assuredly present stronger claims to preside over the destinies of a virtuous republic.

Liberty is like life, to be enjoyed, not to be defined; and it is improved in proportion as it is diffused,—in other words, the more general it is, the more perfect. This idea, is aptly illustrated by contrasting the freedom of a monarchy or a despotism, with that of a republic. The monarch or the despot enjoys entire freedom, subject not even to the restraint of the laws; but the very excess of his immunities is the result of a diminution of the rights and just privileges of his subjects. An overgrown power in individuals is like a resistless determination of the blood to the brain, or to the heart, or to any other great vital organ of the human frame—it always puts in jeopardy, and often destroys, the entire physical system. Whereas, when the blood is equally diffused, a healthy tone and perfect equilibrium are secured, which impart energy and life to all the functions and faculties of both body and mind. Liberty is not matter of indulgence; the moment it is, it ceases to possess its essential qualities. Freedom loses its character, when it is dependent upon the will, either of the few, or the many. In order to its existence it must be independent of all contingent influence; it is in vain that the trumpet sounds; in vain that we applaud the bright eyed goddess to the very echo that doth applaud again, if the voice of sorrow, and the clanking of chains are heard in the very heart of our rejoicings.

History, in her numerous examples, abundantly shows that, in proportion as vice and corruption encumber the earth, Liberty sinks in the esteem of the people, until, at length, she is either voluntarily relinquished, or so vitiated in principle, as to lose her divine attributes, and become only

another and more specious name for licentiousness and crime. Without Liberty, and her attendant blessings, life itself is a burden and the world a waste:

—“ For what is life?
 'Tis not to walk about, and draw fresh air
 From time to time, and gaze upon the sun.
 'Tis to be free. When liberty is gone
 Life grows insipid, and has lost its relish.”

It was, my fellow citizens, for liberty thus characterized and understood, that the Hamdens struggled, and the Sidneys died; it was for such liberty, that the richest blood of all this land flowed freely, during the doubtful periods of our Revolution; it was for such liberty, that your Washington unfurled the star-spangled banner of his country, and redeemed the outraged rights of suffering millions from the very throat of death. That liberty has been bequeathed to you as an inestimable legacy,

“ O ! let it never perish in your hands,
 But piously transmit it to your children.”

Having, as becomes the time, hastily glanced at the nature of liberty, let us refer to the character of slavery, in order that by the depth of its shadow we may brighten the lights of our favorite picture.

What, then, is slavery?—“ Disguise thyself as thou wilt, still, slavery, still art thou a bitter draught. And although thousands in all ages have been made to drink of thee, thou art no less bitter on that account.”

Such was the sentiment of one of the most distinguished of the literati of the last century; and like all sentiments that have their foundation in nature, it continues to be as applicable to the present age, as to the past. Absolutely, it is most true; yet it is, nevertheless, in its relative bearing and effects, liable to be modified, and extended, according to the various conditions of men. Even abject slavery, among those who at best enjoy but a qualified freedom, is less irksome, less repugnant to the heart of man, than qualified slavery, when suffered by those who are surrounded by all the delights and indulgences of rational liberty. This is like adding the torments of Tantalus to those of Ixion.

The enjoyments of human life, are almost always comparative. Where there are no sovereigns, there are no subjects,—where there are no despots, there should be no slaves,—and where there are no slaves, there can be no despots. If this doctrine be sound, most melancholy, indeed, must be the condition of the bondman with us; as wherever he turns his dejected eye, he is referred to the true measure and majesty of man. He beholds around and about him, thousands of chartered monarchs, hailing with loud acclaim at each return the anniversary of their liberty, and affording the best assurance of its perpetuity by their love and gratitude for its origin.

Thus surrounded, what is there to endear life to a slave, or render death appalling? He has no consolations in himself, or in his relatives. His wife, his parents, his children, all partake of his condition, all serve to render the weight of his burden more intolerable. Even hope, itself, the very pride and stay of the human heart,—the last sad solace of affliction,—is denied to him. And ambition, without which man is but a kneaded clod, either never glances into his benighted mind, or, if it should, it is like the lightning in the midnight storm, serving only to make the gloom more terrific, the darkness more intense. Moral or intellectual improvement, without ulterior views to freedom, instead of being blessings as they were designed to be, are but superadded curses and afflictions.

In justice, however, we must say, that these are penalties that slaves are rarely condemned to endure. Whatever tends to improve the heart or the mind of man, while it certainly increases his sources of gratification, so long as he walks freely and erectly in the likeness of his Creator, serves only to aggravate his sufferings, when reduced below his natural level and condemned to a state of vassalage or bondage. In his wife, he sees a joint sharer in his shame; in his children, he contemplates the inheritors of his disgrace, and thus sympathetically suffers even beyond the grave; in his parents, he beholds the involuntary authors of all his misery,—and, while he groans and sweats under a weary life, at times, even rebels against the too partial decrees of high Heaven itself. Still, if this lamentable condition of the slave contribute to the melioration or rational enjoyment of the free, although, certainly, there can be no justification for it, the account of good and evil may, when politically adjusted, stand nearly balanced, and in the equipoise, the great interest of the nation may remain essentially unimpaired and unaffected.

Are, then, the free benefited by the existence of slavery among them? This is a grave question, and must be gravely considered. An illustrious statesman and orator of the British House of Commons has declared, that the people of the South are much more strongly, and with a higher and more stubborn spirit, attached to liberty than those of the North; as in such a people the haughtiness of domination, combined with the spirit of freedom, fortifies it and renders it invincible.

Time has lamentably shown, that the most distinguished individuals have, from that very distinction, often given currency to sentiments of the most corrupt and pernicious tendency. In the foppery and vanity of chosen expression, in the fervor of poetical fancy, in the ardor of animated debate, when selfishness and success were the prime objects, the rights of thousands have been often sacrificed to swell the triumph of a well turned period.

I agree that the flame of liberty burns more brightly in the region of slaves, as the moon beams more brightly through a thunder-cloud; not that she replete her wan face from the storms and tempests by which she is surrounded, but because her charms are presented in bolder and in prouder relief, than when she silently “wheels her pale course” through the mild cerulean, while every planet participates in her majesty and glory. Certainly there is no greater devotion to liberty, than among the inhabitants of the South; but it is peculiar and exclusive liberty; the liberty that they themselves enjoy, and which is enhanced, upon the principles adverted to, by the very destitution, the deplorable condition of those whom they daily contemplate. Like the green spots of the arid desert, liberty, with them, looks more lively and more lovely, from the barren and desolate scenes by which it is encompassed.

There is a vast difference between a professed devotion to liberty, and the establishment of those just, fundamental principles, upon which alone liberty can be secured. Slavery is not simply to be deplored as respects the slave, nor as regards the odium which it necessarily attaches to the character of a free government, but from its obvious and natural tendency to imbue the minds of the holders of slaves, unconsciously, if you please, with lofty and aristocratical notions. From having been accustomed to place the foot upon the necks of slaves, they may next audaciously attempt to trample upon the sacred and invaluable rights of freemen. The cruelty of Nero was first exercised upon a fly; it was matured in the wanton slaughter of his fellow men. Pride and luxury are always dangerous to a republic; but no pride is so dangerous as that which arises from lording it over our

own species;—it matters not how limited may be the scale,—the moment we rise above our fellow creatures, we swell beyond our natural and legitimate proportions, and in the unjust extension of our own rights, unjustly limit and restrain the rights of others. Each successive generation, cradled under the influence of accumulated prejudice, and inhaling the tainted gale of tyranny in every breath, at last seems to claim a share in the divine right of kings, to fetter and destroy, and wields the iron sceptre with a truly legal, though unlineal hand. Can this be said to be consistent with a republican principle?—with liberty and equality?—with the boasted charter of our rights?—with the happiness or welfare of the government?—with our duties to this world, or our responsibilities to the next?

But this is not all. While they profess to stand above the unhappy slave, in superiority of political rights, the influence of slavery exercises an immense moral power over them. They see about them a herd of unenlightened blacks, with none of the restraints of morality, religion, or education,—none of the rewards of virtue to hope for,—none of the punishments of crime to fear; giving reins to the most unrestrained animal propensities, and reducing the immortal character of man below the level of mere brutish instinct. What will be the effect of habitual intercourse or community with a society of this grade? I mean the effect upon the whites? The obvious result is that for the overweening pride and power which slavery imparts to the master, it deprives him of most of those valuable qualities which alone can render pride excusable or power tolerable.

But why should we dwell any longer upon this branch of our subject? That slavery is an evil, all nature cries aloud. It is written as a curse in the very consciences of men. And really it is a matter of mingled horror and amazement, notwithstanding this, to find some reverend and learned gentlemen,—fathers of the church, professed followers of the meek and lowly Saviour, avowed preachers of peace and good will to men,—attempting to justify it by references to the Bible. They have, it is true, succeeded in showing that there were slaves in the earliest ages, and that the Deity endured this outrage upon his own image. Why, they could claim a prescriptive right for all other sins, upon exactly the same ingenious plea, because they, also, have existed from the period of the first fall. What reflecting man dare speak of the sacred Scriptures, and sanction slavery at the same time? It is blasphemous. The fastest friends of slavery should shrink from the Bible, as from a sentence of condemnation; and yet, wonderful to relate, some of the very advocates for freedom, by way of sugaring the bitter pill of emancipation, and adapting it to the palate of the South, must, forsooth, be peering and prying into the mysteries of the Old Testament, for the very laudable purpose of excusing this most flagitious offence in the eyes of God and man.

Others of our friends, and well-meaning friends, too, deem it necessary, strange as it may seem, to resort to the same oracular source, to show that man, whatever might be his complexion, was never designed by the Deity to be converted into a beast, however his crimes and his sinful appetites may have degraded him, at times, to a level with the irrational creation. What arguments can be required on such a subject? Why ask if you are by nature free? Why attempt to prove it? Is not your charter written upon your hearts with the very finger of the Deity? Why ask whether you alone are prescriptive and anointed freemen? Your boasted Declaration, or Bill of Rights, handed down to you by your great political apostles, and forming your political creed, if higher authority were wanting, declares all men equal, and endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights,

among which are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. The question, then plainly resolves itself in this, Are slaves men, or not?

Slavery, we say, is an unquestionable evil. How, then, shall that evil be removed? That involves the great difficulty. By restoring the slaves to freedom. This is my broad position, and I am neither to be driven, nor seduced from it. The manner is a secondary consideration. If the bondage be unlawful or unjust, then should it not be continued. The slaveholders say that the slaves can never be admitted to an equality of political rights,—and they further say, they will free them in their own time. We answer, restore them to their *natural* rights, and name your time; but let it be in *time*, and not in *eternity*.

The colonizationists, our sometime cousins, seem to join in the notion of natural inferiority on the part of the blacks, and the impolicy of their liberation at home; but advocate their right to freedom, provided they will consent to deportation; and justify this apparent inconsistency, by alleging it is only in this way that the North and the South can be brought to unite in the liberation of slaves. The Abolition Society, though wholly devoted to the melioration of the condition of the blacks, manifests its power rather in its accumulated moral influence, than by any direct and urgent application of political means calculated directly to release them from their thralldom; the Anti-Slavery Society boldly denounces slavery as a national curse,—adopts means for its immediate emancipation,—denies that freedom should depend upon expatriation,—and pronounces colonization, in this respect, to be actually conducive to slavery. They are zealous, it is true, but what great work was ever accomplished without zeal? Yet with all their zeal,—founded, as it is, in the purest and least questionable philanthropy,—how preposterous it is to charge them with moral treason against the Constitution,—with cruel and bitter hatred and malignity,—a design to foment a servile war in the South,—to break up the Union, and to shed their brother's blood. Yet of all this, and much more, do they stand accused. And here publicly, in their behalf, as patriots and as Christians, that charge is indignantly denied and repelled. Moral treason! for what? for the purpose of suppressing immorality? Admirable philosophy! Then your temperance societies,—your Bible societies,—your missionary societies,—ay, your sacred temples of worship, consecrated to an All-Wise and Almighty Being, according to this doctrine, are all founded in moral treason! for the object of all these is the suppression of vice, and the promotion of the temporal and eternal happiness of man. If this be treason, treason is a virtue. But it is said, that the professors of this doctrine, are new men, forsooth! and, like the disciples and apostles, that they are unknown to fame; while the only dispute, among their assailants seems to be which is the most of a patriot or a patriarch. Suppose we concede both to them; why, then, certainly, they can rely upon their own intrinsic merit, without conjuring up these red rags, these bloody phantoms, and all the horrors of civil or servile war, to fright the land from its propriety. Our motto is, "Our country,—our whole country,—one and inseparable,—now and for ever." And I trust I speak the sentiment of every one who hears me, when I say, that, notwithstanding the abhorrence in which slavery is, and ever ought to be held by the free states, still, if—as has been industriously suggested—the only choice were between that evil and a total dismemberment of the Union, we should undoubtedly and promptly prefer the former; yet, in so doing, it is possible we should be governed rather by a tender regard for ourselves and brethren, than by a respect for posterity. Nevertheless, it becomes us to enlist and to exert all lawful means to avoid

even the lesser evil ; provided it can be done without encountering the greater. If we cannot effect a radical cure, why let us at least endeavor to alleviate the distress by assuasives, rather than increase it by irritation. The controversy in which we are now engaged, ought to be considered a friendly, a fraternal struggle, intended to benefit, and not to destroy; to propitiate, and not to aggravate ; to soothe, and not to terrify. Depend upon it, the alternative is not what they would have us to believe it. Why should the asperities of the respective states be sharpened or their motives impugned? Why should they be heralded to the lists by angry disputants, armed at all points for unsparing war? It is dangerous to familiarize the mind to such unholy thoughts. They are unworthy of the cause ; they are unworthy of us; they increase by indulgence, and may at length produce those evils which at first they only threatened. Evil conceits are the parents of crime ; from being familiar, they at length become practical, and from being practical, they may at last appear laudable. Their encouragement is dangerous. Their expression often treasonable. Nor are our fears and forebodings more fatal to our tranquillity than threats. These breed ill blood amongst us ; they exclude the genial light of reason from our councils, and enkindle in its place the devouring flame of dissension and of discord, of hatred and revenge. If they fail, the wounds of disappointment rankle in the heart ; if they succeed, it is too frequently by extorting from our fears or affections what should spring only from our judgments and our justice.

The weakness of that argument, may always fairly be suspected, that thus addresses itself to the passions, and not to the understandings of men. Let us, therefore, dismiss all such unsocial and improper influence from our minds, while we candidly and dispassionately investigate the merits of this question.

First, then, is the abolition of slavery expedient ? Morality approves it—religion approves it. These, even in every political discussion, are towers of strength ; but when it shall be perceived, that, independent of both, policy sanctions it, nothing will remain to be said,—our work is accomplished, and we rest from our labors. Morality and religion imply expediency, and it is, therefore, only necessary that we should look to the objections urged against it. Some of those have been already noticed ; the others, which are prominent, let us briefly consider.

It is said to be inexpedient, because it will produce civil war ; and this is said by those who threaten such war. It would be much easier to show that the threat is inexpedient. This is to render abolition impolitic, by the mere determination to resist it ; it might as well be said that our blessed religion is inexpedient, because infidels will rail and will not believe ! Like the adder they will not hearken to the voice of the charmer, charm he never so wisely. This is the same argument that was used against the tariff, and it was said that thousands of bayonets bristled in its support,—the same argument that was used against the restrictions upon Missouri,—the same objection that is resorted to upon every question ; and, allow us to observe, it is the most dangerous argument that can be adopted, because it is addressed to the fears, and not to the reason of man. Threats like these, however, from being familiar, have long since ceased to be terrible. They can excite no other feelings than those of regret, that our Southern brethren, after having been so often foiled in similar calculations, should still remain so incorrigibly weak, in spite of experience, as to dream of controlling or even influencing the free states, and the friends of freedom every where, by these air-drawn daggers. The advocates for liberty are to be reached only through their reason,—they take no counsel from their passions in national discussions. Satisfy them that the encouragement of slavery, or even its

toleration, can possibly be productive of any beneficial, moral, or political result; satisfy them that it would not be, in its fairest aspect, an indelible stain upon our national character, and a daring outrage against high Heaven, and its continuance will no longer be resisted. But this gasconading system never will succeed; it never should succeed. Like all other evils, it will increase with indulgence, until, at length, every question,—whatever may be its importance,—will be decided, not with a due regard to its intrinsic merits, or the general advantage of the country, but solely from a disposition to conciliate the refractory, and preserve unimpaired the tranquillity of the government.

Secondly, they say that, by the articles of confederation, the property of the slaveholder in the slave was ratified and confirmed; that, like Shylock, they hold the bond for the pound of flesh. 'Twas dearly bought—'tis theirs—and they will have it.

Now, without contending that no legal concession is binding, whatever shape it may assume, that is opposed to the law of nature and of God, we may be allowed to remark that, if, as we are assured, paradoxical as it may seem, the South is desirous of being relieved from the curse of slavery, and the only question is as to the manner and result,—we cannot understand how they can consistently contend for the continued entailment of this curse, whatever may have been its ratification. It seems, that, rather than escape from the impending horrors of a servile war, they would encounter the still greater horrors of a civil war. If they suppose we would subject them to either, they mistake us utterly; we do not ask to add to their afflictions, we pray only to be permitted to relieve them,—to relieve them in a manner most salutary and effective. We suffer in their sufferings, as co-members in the great national family,—and we shrink from, while contemplating, that wretched empiricism that directs all its efforts towards healing the skin, while the heart is in decay. They deem this sympathy obtrusive; they say, we will relieve ourselves, in our own way. Is it, then, proper that a patient, with a fever fit upon him, should be permitted to prescribe his own medicines? to abjure his physician, and to disdain the advice of his family and friends? Will you not at least listen to us? Your interests are ours—your dangers are ours—we flourish or perish together: and we here avow, whatever may be our efforts, stimulated by a sense of duty for the emancipation of the slave, we are mainly influenced by a liberal and affectionate regard for you. Do you not perceive that, if you are sincere in the professed desire to shake off this burthen, there is no time like the present?—that its weight accumulates with every hour, and that, when at last you are crushed and crippled under it, it will be entirely too late for that vigorous exertion which is essential to the removal and expulsion of the evil. We are prepared to aid you now in any rational system of emancipation. But do not delude yourselves. Self-delusion upon this subject is worse than death. Do not, like the monster-monarch, amuse yourselves with performing the captivating tune of Liberia upon your new fangled fiddles, while your Rome is burning. Instead of spending our lives in cold debate, let us, like a band of brothers, rush to the rescue of the captive, and we must succeed. Or if we fail, it is consolatory to reflect, that in great attempts 'tis glorious e'en to fail.

The emancipation of slaves cannot be brought about by the free states alone. The Southern states must unite with them. The influence of the Northern states, however, will be felt. The influence of public opinion, which is as broad and general as the casing air, will also in time be acknowledged. That public opinion is at once the parent and offspring of free discussion, of an untrammelled press,—and aided and sustained by these, it

must finally prevail. Almost all that is necessary, in order to insure in the result total emancipation, is, as has been said, to admit that man is not mere property. This principle lies at the very root of the evil complained of, and yet its proof neither requires, nor admits of argument; and to attempt any would be disgraceful, and almost impious. To deny it is to relinquish the charter of our own liberty. And yet our adversaries would, at least, practically affect to deny it. The slave has no civil rights. He cannot marry;—the partner of his bosom, therefore, is a concubine. His children have no inheritable blood,—in technical language they are *nullius filius*; and what is worse, they are the property of the master. The slave can acquire no estate, real or personal. His acquisitions are his master's. The slave cannot testify: nor can slaves testify for him. Personal outrage, therefore, and even murder, may be committed, and are committed with impunity. Of course, as the sanctity of marriage is disregarded, all marital rights are despised. Amalgamation and procreation are rendered sources of profit and traffic. Education is expressly forbidden. Religious improvement is discountenanced, as at variance with the exercise of the will of the master. And yet with all these enormities existing in the very heart of our glorious republic, the merciful and bountiful Creator still lavishes his blessings upon us. The rain still descends upon the evil and the good, the just and the unjust. But how long, O! my fellow citizens, shall these evils be endured? How long shall the thunders of Omnipotence be stayed? How long shall retribution be suspended? Shall we presume upon the forbearance of the Almighty? Shall we provoke the red right arm of vengeance? Is this the requital for our own deliverance from a foreign yoke? Is this the redemption of our own national pledge for the freedom and equality of man? Benefits are not always blessings, however: afflictions are not always curses, though they may sometimes appear so in the views of finite man. Blessings unmerited are but a reproach to their possessor. Afflictions undeserved lose half their poignancy in the consciousness of virtue. Men and nations are only supremely wretched, when the punishments they endure are the just reward of their transgression; when they have sinned against light and love; when by their own examples they have taught bloody instruction, which, being taught, returns to plague the monitor. Then, then, it is, that like the rebel angels, they behold

“ Still in the lowest deep
A lower deep, that threatening to devour them,
Opens wide,—to which the hell they suffer
Seems a heaven.”

It is, I say, with nations, as it is with men. Justice must have sway. Truth must prevail. This nation is the nation of my birth and affection: but she has a fearful score to settle for her national iniquities. A score which should terrify into reform and repentance, while she contemplates the fate of ancient states that have flourished and perished. The oppression of the Africans, the persecution of the Indians, the violation of her pledges, the contempt of her treaties, the substitution of power for right, the utter disregard of those virtues which alike sustain men and governments: all these may be prosperous for a time, but if there be an all-wise and all-just Power,—and who dare doubt it,—they must not, and they cannot come to good.

I regret even incidentally to institute, in this respect, a comparison between our beloved country and the nations of Europe. Look at Great Britain, the queen of nations. Surpassing all Greek and all Roman fame; triumphing over intestine divisions and foreign foes;—cemented, united, and per-

petuated by an existence of nearly one thousand years. What a glorious spectacle does she exhibit to an admiring world, by her devotion to freedom; not to her own freedom alone, but to that of mankind. In comparison with this great object, her hundreds of millions are but dust in the balance. Justice is a much surer foundation for national prosperity, than wealth. That which is unquestionably right, and which no man can deny, she resolves shall be expedient, and accordingly performs. Who can doubt the result, if there be reliance on Heaven. If the sacred rights of man be dear in the sight of his Creator, the performance of a lofty, moral, and religious duty, like this, might almost make atonement for centuries of national crime. But not to look to the settlement upon the book of eternal life, how stands the account upon the ledger of this world? Place the hundred millions on the debit, and the thousands of liberated and grateful slaves to the credit of this great people,—and the balance in their favor, is an immortality of fame, and an eternity of hope. How is it, alas! with us? We not only withhold our treasures from a similar philanthropic scheme,—we not only withhold our approbation from it,—but we daily make laws against, we impede and resist it in every aspect it presents. We forbid its discussion; we punish and destroy its advocates; and while we admit it to be a curse, we hug it to our bosoms, and console ourselves for these absurdities by proclaiming liberty to all! and vaunting that we are the only enlightened republic upon the habitable globe. Admirable consistency! Unparalleled humanity! We are told, however, that true as all this may be, Great Britain is entitled to less praise, at least for her magnanimity, and we should be liable to less censure, as slavery was introduced into this country, originally, by England herself. If unwillingly continued, this looks like an excuse. The British system of taxation was also introduced:—did we submit to it, or have we imitated it? We were able to break our own fetters, but we are unable or unwilling to break the fetters of others. We justify our vices by those of the mother country, while we refuse to emulate her virtues in the liberation of our victims. Reformation from sin is more glorious than never to have fallen; because it is easier to avoid guilt, than relieve ourselves from its toils; the honor is therefore proportioned to the difficulties encountered. Great Britain has sullied her national fame, it is true; but years of practical penitence have burnished her escutcheon, and tears of gratitude from those whom she has emancipated and relieved, have washed away the odium that stained and disgraced her history. She has made her atonement,—where is ours?

If the curse of slavery were no greater than it proves to the slaveholders themselves, it were well to abolish it. If it were no greater than to produce the heart-burning and bickering which we daily witness, it would be well to abolish it. We are but one family, locally divided, but still allied by blood. Our brethren ask us why we interfere; and say they have a right to do as they please with their own. They have no such right. This is not a confederation of sovereign states.

The states have a separate government, as the stars have a separate government, but they are all tributary to the great plan of the Creator; and so is it within the several states. Every man has the absolute right to his own house, but he has no right by setting fire to it, to subject the adjoining property of his neighbors to loss or to peril; and he is liable to be punished for so doing. The law gives them the right, as they say, to hold their slaves. But when it is obvious that, as the result of this privilege, the entire Union is subjected in the result to probable injury, it becomes a matter of deep concernment to us, as well as to them. And we should be wanting in duty to ourselves and brethren, did we not endeavor to avert it, by endeavoring

to convince them of the impolicy of its continuance. We are told, however, this must not be. We are enthusiasts, and must not be allowed to breathe an objection against their anointed and prescriptive right. They say we are enthusiasts,—fanatics is the favorite word. What is an enthusiast? One elevated in fancy and exalted in ideas; affected by religious frenzy: we cannot either confess or retort the charge. Are we mad, because we say slavery is an evil? They admit it, and prove it daily, by their ill-disguised fears. Are we mad, because we say it should be abolished without delay? Then were Burke and Sheridan, Pitt and Fox, and Wilberforce, and all the eminent statesmen for the last century, mad—for they have proclaimed the same thing. Are we mad when we speak with indignation of the wanton imprisonment of Crandall, and the murder of Lovejoy, in terms of unmitigated horror and detestation? An impartial world joins in the sentiment, and justice and posterity will ratify it. Are we mad, when we express our determination to assemble upon our own soil and express our opinions freely, under our constitutional right, in respect to this or any other national evil.

We do not threaten secession from the South, if they do not conform to our views. We do not attempt intimidating them with nullification, if they refuse to conform to our views. We do not instruct or authorize our representatives to bluster or bully them into our measures. We pursue the even and direct tenor of our way, to the great object of emancipation,—unseduced by blandishments, and undismayed by threats. We are not opposed to our Southern brethren;—we desire to serve and to aid them,—we desire to agree with them,—but, like spoiled children, they will have the rattle, let it cost what it may; and the more we reason with them, the more they are inflamed in their desire.

Fanaticism! Were our forefathers fanatics when they declared all men equally free and independent? Was Washington a fool or a fanatic, when, on his dying bed, he declared all his slaves free? Was Jefferson a fanatic when he exclaimed, “I tremble for my country when I reflect that God is just; that his justice cannot sleep for ever; that considering numbers, nature, and natural means only, a revolution of the wheel of fortune, an exchange of situation, is among possible events; that it may become probable by supernatural interference. The Almighty has no attribute which can take side with us in such a contest?” Were the parliament of Great Britain fanatical, when they appropriated twenty million pounds sterling to the liberation of the slaves in their dependencies, and secured to themselves imperishable national glory at the expense of their treasury? If these be fanatics, how glorious is fanaticism! All reform, all improvements, have ever been thus encountered,—have ever been thus exposed and assailed. When the question is between fanaticism and impiety, we should not long hesitate which to choose. Look to the origin and course of Christianity,—look to its bright dawning over a benighted world—look to its glorious struggles through seas of blood—look to its unearthly Founder, and its sainted martyrs,—what were they all? The world proclaimed them all to be fanatics, enthusiasts, incendiaries, traitors. As such they were buffeted, reproached, and reviled, condemned and crucified. It is the slang of this, as it was of that day. The very men who use it, attach no definite notion to it. It is a term of reproach—a term adopted to raise a sort of hue and cry against principles which can rationally neither be disputed nor resisted. Was Crandall a fanatic, because bad men consigned him for months to prison, without an offence? Was his sister a fanatic, because she deemed it her duty to impart instruction to her colored fellow-creatures? Were the courts and juries fanatics, by whom after long suffering, they were acquitted and

discharged? I absolve our adversaries from the imputation of fanaticism. Let them defend themselves against that of insanity or cruelty, if they can.

Am I a fanatic when I decidedly condemn kidnapping, man-stealing, trafficking in human flesh, disfiguring and destroying the mind of man, the miniature resemblance of the Deity? Is it fanaticism or prophecy, when in a warning, though humble voice, I predict the results to which such irreligion and inhumanity must inevitably tend? Is the voice that spoke from Mount Sinai, the voice of fanaticism? How preposterous! how presumptuous! Yet such is the language which our adversaries adopt.

Whether fanatical or not, we are sincere;—that virtue, at least, cannot be questioned. Can as much be said for our antagonists? What have we to gain personally from this struggle? Contumely and odium. We act under the influence of sympathy towards the whole race of mankind. They act under the more questionable influence of selfishness and personal aggrandizement. We are untainted with any thing like a suspicion of guilt, while in their sack the silver cup is found;—the thirty pieces, the price of innocent blood, are detected.

Among those who dare to think for themselves, which embraces far from the largest portion of mankind—among those who do not belong to the common flock, which is always sure to follow where the bell-wether leads,—there are few uninterested and untrammelled, who will venture to maintain the expediency or justice of slavery. I say there are few uninterested and untrammelled. Do you ask a modern politician for his opinion,—politicians now being followers, not leaders,—before he expresses it, he borrows a hint from the South; the vote of the South must be secured. Do you ask a partisan for his opinion? He regulates his answer by its influence upon the election. Do you ask a would-be patriot? He tells you Jefferson was a fool, and instead of slavery destroying the country, it will destroy the country to abolish slavery. Do you ask the adherents of those several classes for their opinion? Why, they think as their principals, or neighbors think. And do you inquire the views of the last and lowest class? They don't think at all. They are the actors—the rank and file, always brawling about liberty without ever understanding it, and elevating themselves into that lawless superiority which depends solely upon brute and physical force. I do not mean the mechanical or laboring classes,—who are, in truth, the pride—the stay—the bone and sinew of the country,—but the *mob*—made up by the refuse of *all* the other classes, and preying upon *all*.

“ The still and mental parts
 That do contrive how many hands shall strike
 When fitness calls them on, and know by measure
 Of their observant toil the enemies' weight;
 Why this hath not a finger's dignity—
 They call this bed work, mappery, closet war,
 So that the ram that batters down the wall,
 For the great swing and rudeness of his poise,
 They placed before his hand that made the engine,
 Or those that with the fineness of their souls
 By reason guide his execution.”

Who then are the fanatics? Those who assert the right to discuss subjects of national policy and philanthropy? or those who utterly forbid it? Who venture to demand our citizens for daring to discuss or express an opinion upon the subject, and who even attempt to bully the representatives of the free states, (I do not use the term invidiously,) into an abandonment of their sacred duty? Look to the case of Hopper in Georgia, of Howard Payne, of Lovejoy, of Crandall.

Is this fanaticism?—is it russianism?—or what is it? That it is a gross violation of the law and of the rights of an American citizen, no man in his senses can for a moment doubt. Yet, some of our good citizens, in the very sincerity of fear and cold blood, and in the abundance of their sympathies, join in this storm of censure against their own friends, and clamor against interference with Southern bondage. Why, this indeed is frugal honesty. It is expediency. The cry is up, and it is easier to promote than resist it. But if they decide this great question by the relative noise of the parties, they will find themselves in a woful error. The moral sense of the community is with us—the judgment of impartial men is with us—the smiles of the world are with us,—and, above all,—the principles of eternal and immutable justice are with us. What else do you require?

We do not disturb them. When the colored man is claimed, we defend him, and afford him an opportunity of establishing his liberty. Who shall condemn this? When we interpose, it is to meliorate the condition of the slave and master, through legislative and congressional enactment. We ask no violence—we invite to none. We avoid all. “Glory to God in the highest; on earth, peace and good will to men,” is the motto on our banner. If that banner be stained with blood, it is not the blood of our adversaries, but our own. It may be matter of reproach to them, but assuredly not to us. The views of this body have been grossly misunderstood, and, by the wicked and designing, grossly misrepresented. The time approaches when it shall appear in its true features; stripped of the disguise with which it has been bedizened by its enemies.

Tell me what is to be the result of this course? I do not mean within a year, or a century:—what effects will the ripening hand of Time alone produce, supposing that that which is to come conform to past experience. Why in less than a century, the colored population which now amounts to one-fifth of the people of the United States, increasing as it does, much faster than the white population, will exceed the white population. They have the benefit in their increase of all shades and complexions, from the black to the quadroon, while we are comparatively restricted. When their numerical force shall exceed ours, what then? I do not dare to hint at the fearful story which is reserved for the historians of that age. The event may be long delayed, but it must be finally met. And what a wretched and delusive policy is that, which postpones the resistance of infant evil, in the vain hope of subduing it with greater ease in its maturity of strength. Yet our brethren will not be warned. They cannot deny the conclusions at which we have arrived, and yet they lull themselves into repose by the fancy that the increase of their fellow-creatures in bondage, like that of their horses and sheep, will prove a blessing. Who ever knew vice to be eventually followed by a blessing? It may appear to prosper for a time, it is true; but the sequel will assuredly shew that that very prosperity was but one of its penalties.

In truth, time has already outgrown slavery; and this is in nothing more strongly manifested than in the threats and bravadoes of the South, who vent their spleen upon the few who act upon those principles that the many profess. “These signs,” says a distinguished writer, “cannot be mistaken;”—and she adds, “I never heard of any one but Gov. McDuffie, who supposed that slavery can last for ever. He in his message to the South Carolina Legislature, declares that he considers slavery the cornerstone of republican liberty. And that if he were dying, his latest prayer would be, that his children should live nowhere but amidst the institutions of slavery.” Such sentiments deserve a halter or a mad shirt.

And yet, wonderful to relate, they were adopted in the Legislature by a solemn vote!—a solemn vote, indeed, it was—a most precious legacy from fathers to their offspring. This is the same ultra spirit that has produced the recent disgraceful scenes in our national councils; scenes that an American should blush to remember, and which have doomed the actors therein to imperishable infamy. I speak freely, as belongs to the occasion, and as becomes this place, which is dedicated to Freedom. Liberty is lovely in all her attributes, but in none so much so as in that of speech, since upon *that* she must mainly depend for the preservation of all the rest.

It is further urged, however, that this property, these souls and sinews, are theirs. Grant it, for the argument,—though the warm blood freezes while we grant it; still if they profess to be willing to manumit their slaves in order to colonization, the mere pecuniary interest becomes no subject of objection, as the loss, in both cases, to the owner, would be the same. Or, if we are answered, that this manumission is to be partial, and not general, why then we reply as has long been contended, that while colonization lops off some of the branches of this Upas, it causes the tree to take a deeper root, and to flourish in wider and less irradicable ruin. By unanimity among the different states, by legislative enactments, and with the sanction of the national government, a thousand less objectionable modes of relief might be adopted. Settlements within the United States, upon the millions of acres unimproved, might be created or established. The whole earth opens her bosom, and stretches wide her arms to lure and lead us on to one great national effort in behalf of the oppressed—nay, not only in behalf of the oppressed, but in behalf of the oppressor, and for the honor of the free government under which they both live.

But, it is said, they must not be permitted to remain with us: that this is the danger. There is no danger. How absurd it is to affect to believe that two millions of slaves, without civilization or moral instruction, and naturally entertaining great animosity towards those by whom they are held in bondage, should be perfectly harmless; whereas, these same men, when restored to freedom, and improved in their civil and moral relations, and bound in gratitude to their benefactors, should be so fraught with peril. That is not the experience which the history of the West India emancipation supplies. That is not consistent with human nature. It is not consistent even with brute instinct. To render a dog ferocious, you chain him. He becomes mild and tractable in his intercourse with men. The condition of the blacks, must even, if not slavish, for a long time necessarily remain servile. After their fetters are removed, the chains of prejudice still remain. But their services would be infinitely more valuable, and the expenses incident to them, by no means proportionably increased, were they restored to freedom. Diffused over this vast country, the poison would be so diluted, so neutralized, as to lose its destructive properties, and all society would soon resume its healthy tone, with the blessings of Heaven upon its head, and the peace of Heaven in its heart.

Still, it is asked, What! shall we admit them to the rights of citizens? That is a matter for future consideration. It does not essentially belong to the question, whether it is expedient to restore them to their natural rights. It does not belong to the question whether, being men, they shall be treated as beasts. Political or civil rights may be regulated according to circumstances, at least in relation to those whose freedom is conditional in its character; and we cannot perceive how this objection can be more available against abolition than colonization. The blacks are free, who are conveyed to the colony. They, as freemen, can return to the land of their choice, and therefore, the only difference is a voyage to the colony and back. How far

this shall qualify them for the purposes of government, and remove the objection to the enjoyment of equal rights, it remains for the friends of that circuitous and anomalous system to inform us. I am aware that much excitement has recently been produced by the question here in this state—the very first, I say it to her glory, to abolish slavery—as to the elective franchise of the blacks. Now, I confess, as to this question, if it could be considered in the abstract, I should feel no great anxiety. This is not the point of view in which it disturbs me. It is the manifestation of obsequiousness to the views of the South,—the want of that Roman firmness, in the prosecution of right, which becomes a great state,—the disposition to recede after forty years, even beyond the starting point of improvement,—that is calculated to astound and appal every individual who contemplates it. The disposition, not simply to withhold a right never constitutionally granted, but to withdraw a right, previously conferred by the Constitution, in mean subserviency to popular clamor,—which, in this instance, at least, is assuredly not the voice of God. The names of Sergeant, of Chauncey, of Forward, of Cope, of Biddle, of Dunlop, of Chandler, of Earl, and other distinguished members of the Convention, as opposing this inexcusable invasion of the rights of the helpless and forlorn, will be handed down to an applauding posterity, while many of those by whom it was suggested and maintained, will be blessed by an oblivion, which they have so richly deserved; or if remembered at all, will be remembered only upon the principle, that a great name not more survives from good than evil deeds. I would rather, much rather, be recorded as one of the minority, on that great question of human rights, than emblazoned on history as one of the Spartan band that sacrificed their lives to the salvation of their country in the straits of Thermopylæ.

This is no time to discuss legal questions. The clauses in the different Constitutions speak for themselves. That of the year 1790 provides that, “In elections by the citizens, *every freeman* of the age of twenty-one years, having resided in the state two years, next before the elections, and within that time paid a state or county tax, which shall have been assessed at least six months before the election, shall enjoy the rights of an elector.—*Art. 3, Sec. 1.*

That of 1838 runs thus:—“In elections by the citizens, *every white freeman* of the age of twenty-one years, having resided in this state one year, and in the election district where he offers to vote, ten days immediately preceding such election, and within two years paid a state or county tax, which shall have been assessed at least ten days before the election, shall enjoy the rights of an elector. But a citizen of the United States, who had previously been a qualified voter of this state, and removed therefrom and returned, and who shall have resided in the election district, and paid taxes as aforesaid, shall be entitled to vote, after residing in the state six months.”—*Article 3, Section 1.*

The Supreme Court of Pennsylvania has recently decided, that the words “*every freeman*,” in the old Constitution, signified *every white freeman*. This decision is said to be founded upon a case in the High Court of Errors and Appeals, which case has no more to do with this subject, and I fear not so much, as the moon. The question determined in the Court of Errors was as to the slavery or freedom of an alleged bondsman. It was not whether a freeman whose face bore the shadowed livery of the burnished sun, was distinguished in his civil rights from one of lighter complexion: no such thing. The enjoyment of the right of franchise, almost wherever it was asserted throughout this state, apart from the plain

terms of the Constitution, was an apt interpretation of the rights possessed. As to decisions by inferior tribunals, they are of but little account. But it is a subject of deep regret, that so highly elevated, honorable, and dignified a tribunal, as that to which I have referred, should be betrayed into so gross and lamentable an error. It would be matter of great interest here to examine into the different views expressed by the judges, and the members of the Convention, upon this all important subject. Time will not allow the examination. But this, at least, may be said,—that the judges determined, that a colored freeman never had the right to vote, under the old Constitution; and that some of the adversaries, the most distinguished adversaries of that right, in the Convention, gave as a reason, and almost the sole reason, for the introduction of the word white, that a colored freeman actually did enjoy the elective franchise under the old Constitution. So that it results in this: either the Supreme Court or the Convention must be wrong. I join with the opinion expressed by the Convention, and abundantly sustained by the Constitution itself. The very vote that created that Convention was, in part, a vote of the colored population; and to say, therefore, that their constituents had no right to vote, was virtually to determine that they had no right to their places. And admitting that right to vote, the introduction of the word white, by which that right was restricted, was taking from the colored citizens a privilege that was conferred upon them fifty years ago. If this is to be considered as an evidence of our improvement in intelligence, morality, or humanity, and of the extension of freedom in a state that was the first to abolish slavery, why then, I say, that we have fallen upon evil times; and the sooner we return to the character and practices of our forefathers, the better for us, and for all who depend upon us. This I hold to be a sacrifice to the prejudices and clamors of the South. It can be attributable to no other probable cause. They arrest our citizens—consign them to prison—deprive them of liberty—destroy their lives,—and in requital for all this, to show how well we have learned our scriptural lessons, and in order to return good for evil, we retrace the steps which fifty years have sanctioned, and dilapidate the temple of liberty which our ancestors have anxiously and laboriously erected.

Some of the members engaged in the discussion of this important subject, seem to think that the negroes, as they termed them, never were designed to be placed upon a level with the whites, being of an inferior species—of an inferior order of intellect. Upon what level, may I be permitted to ask, would those honorable gentlemen be placed, were their position regulated strictly by the intellectual scale. This is severe doctrine, even when applied to men who enjoy equal opportunities for improvement. But how cruel and unjust is it, when directed against those unhappy beings, who are by law excluded from the benefits of instruction, and then generously taunted with ignorance and inferiority. Intellectual inferiority, if it existed, which, so far as regards capacity, I deny, is no justification of slavery. When it shall become so, let him who advocates such principles look well to his freedom, for it will certainly be in jeopardy.

To say no more of intellect. I have known instances of moral firmness and decision of character among this proscribed race, that many of the honorable gentlemen who thus contemn them, would blench and blanch in the mere contemplation of.

Those of us who are closely approaching the meridian of life, must recollect perfectly a murder committed in this city about thirty years ago—the murder of Sarah Cross, an old lady who lived in Letitia Court. The malefactors were two colored men, John Joyce and Peter Mathias, the latter

of whom was supposed to have been coerced into the crime. More than ten years after that event, I was called upon by Mr. Luke Morris, and Isaac T. Hopper, to defend an alleged slave, before the recorder, who held his session in the prison. Upon arriving at the scene of trial, I approached the respondent, and privately, as a preliminary, inquired his name. He told me his name was Peter Mathias; as quick as lightning my boyish recollections flashed upon my mind, and as it had been currently reported, just after the execution, that Mathias had been restored to life by a galvanic experiment, I scarcely doubted, but that the man before me was this veritable personage; and involuntarily somewhat recoiling from him, I exclaimed, "Peter Mathias!—why, a man of that name was executed, some years ago, for murder." My astonishment was not a little increased, when he replied, "Come nearer, and I'll tell you all about it." If I had had any doubts before, they would have vanished. I approached him, however, when he relieved my apprehensions by the following extraordinary disclosure:—"My name is not Mathias, but John Johnson. When Peter was thrown into prison, I also was imprisoned for an assault and battery, and on the morning Peter was led forth to execution, he called me to him, and said, 'John, you are a slave, I am free; here are my freedom papers; I am going where I shall not want them—they may be of use to you, take them, change your name to Peter Mathias, and if your master ever should claim you, show these papers, and they will protect you.'" Of course, no honorable advocate could take advantage of such an artifice, and the unhappy man was restored to the claimant. This simple story is introduced, to show in what horror slavery is held by these wretched beings—and also to show how much magnanimity may be concealed under a sable skin. Had Peter been a Roman, he would have figured for this one act upon the historic page, and secured an immortality of fame.

My profession has furnished thousands of instances, scarcely less remarkable than this. Time forbids their recital. But this we may be permitted to say—that no man, who has witnessed the scenes that almost daily occur among this unhappy class of men, can do otherwise than hold this inhuman traffic in undisgnised abhorrence. Upon one occasion, a young mulatto was brought before the Court—a fellow fit to stand by Cæsar; he was ordered by the judge, after hearing, to be remanded. His master approached with his myrmidons to bear him away, and inquired whether he would go peaceably, without irons. "No," was the reply—it was in the very Hall of Independence, and it was worthy of the place—"no; I give you warning to make me perfectly secure, for I will terminate my existence with the first opportunity. Liberty or death, is my motto."

But these, and such as these, are the sufferings of men, and the dignity with which they bear them, seems to alleviate their distress. But who shall describe the suffering, the affliction of the female heart. I have seen the mother torn from the child of three weeks old, and from that age up to maturity; I have seen the wife dragged from the husband, and the husband from the wife, while beasts would hardly have been separated without compunction; I have seen the prime of life and decrepid age torn from our soil; I have more than once hesitated whether to take defence for the children, when the mother was a captive, on the principle that slavery *with* her, was better than liberty *without* her. Horrible alternative.

In the famous case in Mount Holly, which occupied a fortnight, a husband, wife, and four children, were claimed, all upon different rights. The case, it is true, resulted in the discharge of all, and in the mitigation of some of the severest features of slave jurisprudence, but it was an awful scene to those who thought of, while they looked upon it. The revered

Shipley was the companion of my labors upon that occasion, and to his exertions was their preservation mainly attributable. Since then he has gone to his reward; and if practical virtue, if untiring benevolence towards this unhappy race, give any assurance of the hereafter, he has been gathered to the society of the just made perfect, while his name on earth shall, in itself, be an inheritance to his children, far beyond all considerations of wealth. In the annals of the times he was comparatively obscure, because his merits were unobtrusive; but still, the thousands of the poor and friendless Africans, who followed him to the house appointed for all living, and the tears that spontaneously moistened the sod that covered him, bore richer testimonials to his inherent worth, than the proud, pampered, and luxurious tyrant, who builds his elevation upon the downfall of his species, can ever hope to enjoy.

But to return from this digression. I confess, that with all my devotion to the great cause of human freedom, still, if it were left to me to strike off the chains of slavery instantly, and with a single blow, I should hesitate before that blow was struck. Hesitate, not for myself—not for the safety or security of the government—not for the probable effects of the measure upon society or upon the slave states, but for the slaves themselves. They are not, as a mass, morally or intellectually, in a condition qualifying them for so sudden and important a change. The flood of light that would pour in upon them, would prove too powerful for their long-benighted vision; or, in other words, they might surfeit in the excess of joy. Nevertheless, we should contend for immediate emancipation, because the system of delays is dangerous to this enterprise. Immediate emancipation cannot result from immediate causes; but the urgency of those causes will bring it about, assuredly, in good season; and, under the blessing of Heaven, even the seed sown to-day, may produce an abundant harvest in all time to come. We should contend for this doctrine, because it is the most effective. It cannot, we agree, succeed to the desired extent; but it will succeed better than those projects, that claim but little in the first place, and eventually relinquish *that*, for the purposes of conciliation. The conciliation that rests upon an abandonment of principle, is prostitution. It renders opposition obdurate, and diminishes the prospect of future success. Let us not, however, differ about mere terms. Exchange the word immediate for certain. We will not quarrel as to a month, or a year, or twenty years, if our antagonists will only concur with us, in reducing the liberation of the slaves to an actual certainty. Experience in Antigua, Barbadoes, and Jamaica, would instruct us, it is true, to avoid qualifications in emancipation; but if the great object can be accomplished, even under some restrictions not vitally affecting its character, no man is so unreasonable as to refuse, upon such terms, to unite in almost any measure proposed.

How then is that object to be accomplished? Assuredly not by colonization. The experiment has been made, and has failed—fearfully failed. We need not refer to the wanton expenditure of life—to the souls that shall meet us at count—to the means lavished, and wasted—to the hopes ripened, and blasted. The timeless tenant of the “narrow house” proclaims it—and the execrations of suffering thousands point to Liberia, as the fruitful source of irremediable woe. That colonization might prove a valuable auxiliary to liberty, we are not prepared to deny; but that such colonization, thus conducted—thus condemned, can ever be productive of beneficial results, it is madness to assert. Nor is it merely on the score of its doing no good, that it is objectionable—but that it actually does harm. Harm, not simply in antedating the doom of thousands who have confided in it—if, indeed, compulsion may be called confidence—but in withdrawing atten-

tion from other, and infinitely more rational plans of freedom. Half of the victory might have been achieved, during the twenty years that public interest has been employed, and public means squandered, in cherishing and bedizening this sickly and misbegotten offspring of an illicit alliance between the North and the South—this child of forty fathers, that has been christened colonization, which, practically rendered, signifies DEATH. Among its friends, however, there are many valuable, though misguided men. We are bound to believe that their purposes are honest; their private and their public characters are ample vouchers for their sincerity. But holy zeal, when manifested in an unholy cause, is more pernicious than the most insidious, crafty, and destructive vice, as it enlists much of the might and majesty of virtue, beneath the banner of sacrilege and crime.

There are others, no doubt, also honest, that are too wild and visionary for reasonable reliance. They start their game, and they hunt it to death, like true sportsmen, reckless of the pangs they inflict, not for the value of the prey, but for the pleasure of the chase. There is no limit to their delusion; and when you speak to them of discretion, of moderation, they talk to you of Columbus, of Saul of Tarsus, of Moses and the pilgrim Israelites, and recklessly rush forward in the wild determination of founding a republic, on the basis of a yawning and devouring sepulchre.

They say to us, you can never overcome slavery by the means you have adopted. Why, this is as good an argument in favor of slavery, as in behalf of the colonizationists, unless their superior merits be established. We may not, it is true, succeed against the joint efforts of the South, and of Colonization, but we can try. We may, at least, deserve success, though we cannot command it; and we shall, at all events, bear with us in defeat, should defeat ensue, the soothing consolation that, as men, we ventured to maintain the sacred rights of man—those rights for which our fathers bled—those rights, which, however long and zealously disputed, must finally prevail.

Still the question recurs, how is this great object to be accomplished? That its accomplishment will be attended with difficulty is unquestionable. With the consent of the slaveholders, and its influence upon legislative enactments, it would prove comparatively easy. Laws might be passed, similar in their character to those of the Spanish islands in the West Indies, providing, that some part of the day, or some day in the week, should be appropriated to the slave; that he should be allowed payment for over-work; and that his earnings should be placed with some public depositary, until they should amount to a sum sufficient to purchase his liberty. To aid in this, there might be a slave-fund, created by the nation and the respective states, to be annually appropriated to the same charitable purpose. This would be one measure, insufficient in itself, it is true, but strongly conducive, with others, to the completion of this magnanimous and immortal work! What a glory would it have been to the nation, had the superflux of our treasury been applied to this philanthropic work. Then, indeed, it would have been converted into a blessing, instead of producing, as it has done, the heaviest of curses.

Another plan would be, so as to meet all humors, co-operating with that referred to, to establish a national colony—having for its basis, not individual, but government security; and affording to the colored colonists who shall voluntarily embrace the design, the enjoyment of the same natural and political rights, within their own realm, as we ourselves possess. This might lay the foundation for future commercial advantages to both; and, at all events, would hold out inducements that could not be despised, and, in no possible event, would be liable to be deplored.

A further auxiliary project would be, as preparatory or incidental to the success of the rest, that laws should be passed providing for the education of the slaves ; that thus they might, in time, become fit subjects for government, and not be cast loose upon society, like so many wild beasts, to destroy themselves and others. Public schools should be established for their use, where they should, at least, be taught to read and write ; for it must be borne in mind, that the chief argument now urged against them, is that which is supposed to arise from total ignorance, and the consequent absence of those moral, intellectual, and religious advantages, that they have never yet been taught to enjoy or to appreciate. There is still another measure that would be attended with beneficial effects, and which is in entire consistency with individual rights—and that is, the abrogation of laws prohibitory of manumission. The moral sense of the community, if left to itself, would soon cure the evil of slavery ; but Legislatures interfere, and prevent it, under the pretext that the evil of manumission is greater than that of slavery. In this respect, their conduct very much resembles that of a man, who, having the small-pox virus in his system, takes medicines to prevent its eruption upon his skin, and thereby drives it to his vitals. Slavery is increased by having its virus incorporated into the system, and driven to the vitals of the body-politic, by preventing its eruption in the form of manumitted slaves.

Upon what principle, while these legislative bodies contend that the general government has no right to interfere with the privilege of property, they themselves can thus control it, it is not easy to imagine. They will tell us, that it is upon the principle of security against the mischiefs which will probably result from a restoration of slaves to freedom : still, if slaves are to be considered as absolute property, why should they control the disposition which masters may be inclined to make of them ? If the national government cannot sway them for good purposes, why shall *they* sway them for pernicious purposes, from the mere anticipations of possible evil ? If the rights of the owner are paramount to all public considerations, those rights are just as much interfered with by unjust restraints, as they are by what is alleged to be an unconstitutional coercion. In truth, the laws of the slave states are calculated to perpetuate slavery—it is not the desire of the mass of the population, nor is it their interest nor policy, to promote mancipation—it impoverishes the state in which it exists—it diminishes the increase of the whites—it augments that of the blacks : whereas, by emancipation, the increase of the black population would be lessened by one per cent. per annum, and that of the whites would be enhanced in nearly the same proportion.

“ By reference,” says a distinguished political philosopher, “ to the censuses, it will be found, that slaves increase much faster than a free black population. By doing justice, therefore, to the slaves in manumitting them, their rapid increase will be greatly restrained. This presents an easy, natural, and judicious method, by which the evil of an overwhelming colored population may, to a great extent, be prevented. It is a much more effectual mode of lessening the comparative numbers of the blacks, than colonization or emigration. The diminution of the increase of blacks would be twenty-five thousand per annum ; and the colonizationists in twenty years have not succeeded in removing one-tenth of that number. There is also this important difference between an emigration of twenty-five thousand a year, and a diminished increase of that number. In the former case, the power of the fountain that sends forth these bitter waters, is not in the least degree abated ; in the latter, the power of the fountain is weakened, and

its force impaired. The difference in the effect of these two causes, would be surprising in the course of twenty years.

But say the Southern advocates, we quote their very language, “admitting slavery to be an evil, it is entailed upon us, by no fault of ours. And must we shrink from the charge, and throw the slaves in consequence, into the hands of those who have no scruples of conscience?—those who will not perhaps treat them so kindly? No! this is not philosophy, this is not morality.” We must recollect that the unprofitable man was thrown into outer darkness. To the slaveholder has truly been entrusted the five talents; let him but recollect the exhortation of the apostle, “Masters give unto your servants that which is just, knowing that you also have a master in heaven.” And in the final result he shall have nothing on this score, with which his conscience need be smitten, and he may expect the welcome plaudit, “Well done, thou good and faithful servant, thou hast been faithful over a few things, I will make thee ruler over many things. Enter thou into the joy of thy Lord.”

Such is a brief summary of the argument in vindication of slavery. A more outrageous perversion of reason and religion, has perhaps rarely exposed itself to public reprobation and abhorrence. Let us for a moment examine this monstrous doctrine. “Slavery is entailed upon them, and shall they shrink from the charge?” What! do they attempt rendering slavery a duty—a sympathetic, disinterested duty towards the unhappy victim himself? Supposing it to have been entailed upon them, can they not break the entailment, where they alone are interested? A depraved nature is entailed upon us all, yet who would undertake to justify robbery and bloodshed, or any other heinous vice, upon the mere ground of his natural propensity to crime? There is but one thing more odious than the oppression of our fellow men, and that is, the hypocritical attempt to excuse it, by the pretended necessities of the oppressed. As to the inheritance of slavery, that argument shall grow stronger with every successive generation. Its origin may have been our fathers’ fault, but its continuance is ours, and will, if we bequeath the curse to our issue, render us at once the descendants and the ancestors of guilt.

But if the masters shrink from the charge, we are told, the slaves will be thrown into less charitable hands; this is like the argument of the drunkard against abandoning his pernicious potations, namely,—that drunkenness with him was hereditary, and that by giving up his daily allowance, it would only serve to increase the stock for others, who are even more desperately devoted to the pleasures of the bowl than himself. This reeling course of reasoning could never have induced the adoption of the mischief, but is resorted to, from necessity, to justify its existence. The least pardonable portion of these objectionable remarks, is that which would claim the divine sanction of religion in aid of this earthly abomination. “The unprofitable man was thrown into utter darkness—to slaveholders have been entrusted the five talents—having been faithful over a few, they shall be rulers over many things, and enter into the joy of their Lord.” As I understand this version, the talents were so many slaves, and hence it may be supposed, that he who works them the hardest has, according to the notion of the advocate, the strongest claims upon Heaven. If this is to be the passport, the South are generally sure of salvation, and they need scarcely quarrel for its degrees. The only remaining part of the picture is that which relates to the scruples of conscience. This is too much!! The argument from interest, necessity, and general expediency, may, perhaps, be tolerated; but I think this is the first objection founded in conscience against the abolition of slavery; and, therefore, whatever may be its folly, or its

faults, it has the merit of novelty, at least. I despise the man, that dares thus to palter with his conscience for the support of this nefarious traffic. I abhor him who would impiously attempt to derive authority from Heaven itself, for this earthly abomination. The devil, it is true, can cite Scripture for his purpose,—but that *man* should venture to arraign the decrees of Providence, or to render them subservient to the gratification of selfishness or iniquity, is to pronounce his own condemnation, in the voice of that very authority to which he appeals for excuse.

But to return again to the remedies for the evil. The last measure I would advise, should be the passage of a law rendering all colored children born after a given time, free, upon their arrival at a certain age. Time, and the occasion, will not allow me to go into minute details, for the purpose of exhibiting the mutual advantages of the reform thus proposed. But they must be obvious to every thinking and practical mind. It is apparent, however, that, in most of these recommendations, we contemplate the concurrence of national and state efforts, as well as those of individuals. If that concurrence should eventually be obtained,—and if professions be true, who shall doubt it,—although no one of these methods might be calculated to counteract the evil complained of, in their *joint* and concentrated influence their success will be inevitable; and in less than half a century from this period, the groans and clanking chains, and heavy curses of slavery, shall be heard, and seen, and felt no more. The joy of our national anniversary shall be doubled, and we shall commemorate, at the same time, the achievement of liberty by ourselves, and the still more glorious extension of it from ourselves to others.

To effectuate this great object, immediate means must be adopted. There must be no time-serving, no luke-warmness, no abandonment of principle; let us knock constantly at the portals of liberty; night and day, until our admission is secured, and our prayers are granted. For my single self, I would rather have it inscribed on my humble tomb, that I gave freedom to one man, than that I was the first discoverer and founder of the whole colony of Liberia; aye, or even of the continent of America itself, if it is to be devoted to slavery. Let us but once establish a colony in the human heart, dedicated and consecrated to philanthropy and justice, and its influence shall extend throughout the land,—and its glorious rays, like those of the sun, shall dispense peace and plenty, and warmth, and vigor, and light and life, to this New World—Egyptian darkness shall flee before it, and Egyptian bondage, in the transport of regeneration, shall burst its galling fetters,—and slavery shall be no more.

We cannot take leave of this subject without some remarks in relation to ourselves. That we have the right to discuss and condemn slavery, it is in vain to deny. That we have also the right to use every possible effort with the government, and with the free and slave states to abolish it, is equally beyond dispute; but, nevertheless, let us ever be discreet,—for although prudence is said to be a coward virtue, in great political experiments it is worth all the rest. We yield to no man in the warmth of our attachment to this great cause; we can neither be seduced by favor, nor alarmed by threats, into an abandonment of our conscientious opinion. But still, we would not encroach, unnecessarily, for the benefit of one class of men, upon the peace and tranquillity of another. The slaves, themselves, can, as matters now stand, do nothing towards their own emancipation; they may do much to prevent it, and we should, therefore, be careful to abstain from every measure that may be calculated to excite in them a hostile or rebellious spirit towards those to whom, as the laws now exist, they owe unqualified

obedience. Let it be borne in mind, that the slave is not alone to be commiserated; the master may also be an object of compassion.

That we have no privilege to express our abhorrence of slavery; to assail colonization, as imparting no relief from its horrors; to adopt every honorable means to abolish both, is what never will, and never can be reasonably contended. But to foment factions,—to carry on an exterminating and implacable war against our Southern brethren,—to invade their firesides, and disturb their domestic security, is as remote from our duty, as it is from our design and desire.

We have no sectional feelings, nor personal jealousies; we have no malevolence towards any man; we have none of that hatred for our adversaries, that seems to be apprehended; nor can we look with any thing short of horror at the appalling spectres conjured up to our view, of civil war, of bloodshed, and desolation; yet all these “convenient scarecrows,” with twenty times their stop, shall never deter us from a candid and dispassionate expression of our sentiments upon this momentous question. Our state would be worse than that of the slave whose condition we deplore, if we are to submit to the shackles of the mind, nor dare to express opinions so near the heart, upon a subject so dear to the nation. We know this is a subject upon which the South is highly sensitive, and which requires great tenderness; but it also requires great firmness and decision. A too delicate and tremulous hand, even in the most painful operations, endangers the life of the patient, and is the height of cruelty, as it produces agony without any commensurate benefit. That there may be individuals with us who carry their zeal to an improper extent, and are occasionally transported beyond the bounds of reason, it would be useless to deny. We lay claim to no infallibility. Zealots are not confined to the profession of religion; they are to be found in all orders and degrees of men; but their enthusiasm, if not entirely justified, is certainly no legitimate subject of reproach upon the principles for which they intemperately contend, or upon the men by whom the same principles are more moderately and judiciously enforced.

Collision, actual or imaginary, will ever be attended with excitement; but when the struggle between opposing parties is directed to the same great object, and the points in difference are rather in respect to men and measures, than in regard to principles and motives, we should at least be sparing of our censure, if not lavish of our praise. Let us not, in self-exultation, impiously thank heaven that we are not as the Pharisees are, but with Christian charity and humility do good unto those who despitefully use us and persecute us, and thereby establish a practical superiority.

It is but fair, having thus imperfectly submitted our views, to cast a hasty glance at some of those which are entertained by many of our respectable fellow citizens. Let it not be supposed that we are enemies to colonization, rightly understood. We may be Christians, as well as our neighbors, without adopting all the ceremonies belonging to their creed. They may establish a thousand colonies, and people them all, provided the colonies are not converted into grave-yards, and the inhabitants into ghosts. They may extend the blessings of liberty as far as the sun shines, if they will only begin at home. They tell us Liberia is the land of promise. This is most true. But it is not the land of performance; and that, in short, is our very objection, “it keeps the word of promise to the ear, and breaks it to the hope.” The mind of man is ever studious of change and pleased with novelty. If, therefore, Liberia presented any of those advantages which are professed, there would be abundant testimonials in its favor,—not from its agents, not from those who are pensioned out of it, not from those who have embarked their means in it, but never saw it,—but from those for

whom it was ostensibly designed, and who, so far from its commendation, seem to consider it at best but a poor exchange for the slavery from which they were relieved. It is said, however, that its want of success is imputable to the opposition of this Society. That, indeed, is also partly true; but that opposition would not have prevailed, and might never have commenced, if it had not been for the remarkable vulnerability of its adversary, and the strong appeals of humanity in behalf of those whose credulity was abused, and whose rights were despised. Had it succeeded, its success could never have been a national blessing, but might have conduced to lull us into a fancied security, a fatal slumber in the very arms of an earthquake, from which we could have been aroused only by the sound of the last trumpet.

They further say, that the South unites with them, and it might seem so,—but, in truth, they rather unite with the South; and we defy any man carefully to examine their doctrines—their constitution—and the speeches of their respective supporters, without arriving at the conclusion that they are entirely dependent, for their existence as a Society, upon the South? “A breath unmakes them, as a breath has made.” Bound by this tenure, what free will or agency can they have—upon what security can they build their prospects of success? Upon empty and indefinite pledges—upon futile and illusory hopes—upon visionary gratuities and concessions, made to-day and forfeited to-morrow? or, if not actually forfeited, liable to such modifications and restraints as shall tend to relieve the slaveholder, without relieving the slave!

We have thus, in rapid review, shown you what is liberty and what is slavery;—how the former may be preserved and the latter abolished. In conclusion, let me implore you to persevere in your enterprise, but with all becoming tenderness and sympathy; let not the indignation which you feel for the sufferings of your fellow men, betray you into intemperate measures that shall rather increase than allay those sufferings. The object of your association is to restore the slaves to freedom, and, while thus improving their condition, to meliorate that of the country at large. The magnanimity of this object no one can deny; but, nevertheless, much must depend upon the means adopted for its accomplishment. Do not, therefore, by a pertinacious and selfish adherence to any favorite plan, place in jeopardy that success to which all views, in order to be eligible, ought to be directed. Virtue, it is true, is always fearless, but always cautious. A headlong devotion to the purest and most heavenly pursuits not only involves the votary in danger, but often precedes assured disappointment and defeat. On the other hand, be not too tame neither: tameness and timidity are unworthy of this great cause, and often produce or promote the very danger which they apprehend. In fine, through evil and through good report, ever manifest yourselves to be the true soldiers of the blessed cross; the steady and devout followers of your heavenly Exemplar, “the chief among ten thousand, and altogether lovely.”

AFTERNOON SESSION.

The afternoon was appropriated to the Philadelphia Lyceum, and the exercises were of a scientific and literary character. It was expected that the proceedings of this and of the subsequent meeting of the Lyceum, would be published at length in this work, but the following communication will sufficiently explain why they are omitted.

To the Managers of the Pennsylvania Hall Association:

Esteemed Friends:—It becomes my duty to forward to you the enclosed resolution of the Philadelphia Lyceum, to whom you kindly granted the use of your Hall, on the afternoon of the 14th and 15th inst.

This procedure of the Lyceum grew out of an over-anxiety on the part of *some* of our members, that the Lyceum, which is a literary institution, should not appear to be in any way connected with the benevolent institution known by the name of the Anti-Slavery Society, which met in your Hall on that same week.

How your publishing the proceedings of the Lyceum would prove any such connection, I am entirely at a loss to perceive.

Respectfully, I remain

Your friend,

SAMUEL WEBB, *President.*

Fifth month 26th, 1838.

At a meeting of the Philadelphia Lyceum, held Fifth month 26th, 1838, the following preamble and resolution were adopted:

WHEREAS, the Managers of the Pennsylvania Hall have resolved to publish a book, containing an account of the proceedings held therein, during its dedication; and whereas, this Lyceum is not in any way connected with the abolition question, therefore,

Resolved, That the Managers of the Pennsylvania Hall be respectfully requested not to publish in said book the proceedings of this Lyceum, at their meetings held in said Hall.

Extracted from the Minutes.

HAWORTH WETHERALD, *Secretary.*

EVENING SESSION.

A CROWDED audience assembled at 8 o'clock in the evening, to hear addresses on the subject of Temperance, from ARNOLD BUFFUM, of Philadelphia, and THOMAS P. HUNT, of North Carolina, both of which have been kindly furnished for publication.

ADDRESS OF ARNOLD BUFFUM.

I ADDRESS not myself to drunkards, for in this highly respectable audience there are none of that unfortunate class; but I address those who, more than drunkards, stand in the way of the temperance reformation.

First—The thoughtless moderate drinkers of fermented and spirituous liquors, who, however, when convinced of their danger, will cordially come over to the temperance cause.

Secondly—Those half-ruined moderate drinkers, who have considered the subject, but still are unwilling to deny themselves the dangerous indulgence, either for their own safety, or for the good of others.

Thirdly—That portion of the practically temperate who are afraid of being contaminated by associating with the active friends of the cause, in doing good.

To each of these classes, I propose to offer such brief remarks, as the very limited time allotted me will allow, and then give way to the distinguished advocate of the cause, who is to follow me.

Philanthropists and Christians, in making their observations upon men, have witnessed, with deep regret, that in the most civilized and Christian nations, a large proportion, through the destructive influence of fermented and spirituous liquors, have so fallen under the controlling power of their appetites and passions, that, drinking to intoxication, they have been designated by the opprobrious epithet of drunkards; and, moved by the best feelings of humanity and religion, they have adopted such measures as to them seemed best calculated to arrest the flood of intemperance. They sought to reclaim the drunkard from his ruinous indulgence, by kind persuasion, by legislative restrictions, and by the terrors of the wrath of God. But all these proved unavailing: the drunkard still pursued his dreadful career, until, having filled his measure of iniquity, delirium tremens consigned him to his eternal doom, and when one generation of drunkards was swept away, their places in the catalogue of sin and wretchedness, were supplied by a portion of the same persons who had been so zealously engaged in fruitless efforts to reclaim them.

It is but a just concession to the claims of humanity, to suppose that even those who have become drunkards had, while in the possession of a sober understanding, commiserated the condition of the miserable victims of alcohol. But there was a fatal error at the foundation of all the benevolent efforts for reclaiming drunkards, which entirely defeated the purpose. This error consisted in the supposition, that intoxication was the cause of the wretchedness and ruin which follow the use of fermented and spirituous

liquors as drink ; while, in fact, drunkenness is only the last and the smallest of the evils resulting from the desolating cause, which is destroying the virtue, the happiness, and the lives of a vast portion of the human race. This cause is to be found in the habitual use of those liquors, without any reference to the fact of intoxication. The moderate drinker daily takes into his stomach a quantity of those liquors, when, from the warmth of the body, they undergo the process of distillation, and the subtle poison finds its way to the brain, where, by its consuming power, all the finer sensibilities of that most delicate organ are destroyed. While yet he is regarded as but a moderate drinker, all the desolations of mind and character, which result from the use of those liquors, stand out in bold relief ; and when this destructive habit shall complete its work by an occasional fit of intoxication, it adds but little to the catalogue of evils which it had before inflicted upon him. So long as men supposed that no evil resulted from moderate drinking, relying upon the strength of their good resolutions to abstain from taking so much as to make themselves drunken, they continued to indulge in the destructive poison ; and the fact that, when the moral and intellectual deterioration was effected, they crossed the line of demarcation which separates between the condition of the moderate drinker and that of the drunkard, was the very reason why the ruinous result of drinking, short of intoxication, was not understood. Men saw all around them the misery and the crime which are always seen among people who use fermented and spirituous liquors as drink, but they saw these evils principally in connexion with drunkenness, and they heard the public voice mistakenly charge them upon drunkenness, instead of charging the drunkenness itself, and all its attendant evils, to the destructive power of alcohol upon the mental and moral energies of man. Here was the grand mistake which lulled to a fatal ideal security the devotees of Bacchus, with all the host of cider, beer, and spirit drinkers, who vainly imagined that they might safely indulge in moderation, and yet stand firm on the temperate side of the line of demarcation. It is evident that no man would ever cross this line, unless his resolution, his moral perception, his self-respect, and the affections of his nature, were first greatly impaired ; and yet it is an appalling fact, that one-third of the adult males in the United States do cross this line and die drunkards ; and let it ever be remembered and often reiterated, that it is that use of fermented and spirituous liquors which is not accompanied with intoxication, that brings them up to and actually puts them over this dreadful line. This fact being now admitted, let it be proclaimed to the world in tones of thunder, that alcohol in any form, or in any quantity, when taken into the human stomach, is a corroding poison, and that its habitual use produces a diseased state of the system, which ultimately exhibits itself in an utter disregard of all the moral and social obligations of man, accompanied with the positive exhibition of all the vices and miseries which afflict our race. And let it also be remembered that these miseries and vices are no more chargeable to drunkenness than drunkenness is to them ; they are all exhibited together, as the inevitable result of the position in which moderate drinking has placed its hapless victims. Moderate drinking has put them over that line of demarcation which separates between resolution and prostration—between virtue and vice—between soberness and drunkenness ; and all the desolation, and all the ruin of the mortal frame and the deathless mind, are the natural result, not of drunkenness, but of the use of fermented and spirituous liquors as drink.

Behold, then, the thousands of polluted streams which, flowing from the brew-house, the cider or wine press, and the distillery, and by means of the license system, spreading through every city, town, and hamlet in the land,

are involving in mighty ruin the fairest hopes of heaven ; and raising high the standard, let a line of demarcation be drawn between the friends of the temperance reformation and its opposers. On virtue's side will stand, encouraged with hope, all who enlist under the banner of total abstinence ; on the other side, far down the vale of misery, will be seen, descending into the drunkard's grave, the notoriously intemperate ; in their rear, and following in the same broad way, will appear the host of unreclaimed moderate drinkers. From the drunken leader of this numerous band, to the last follower who takes his glass but once a month, will be one unbroken chain ; not a link will be wanting to render the connection plain, and the succession sure.

Suppose the temperance societies should discontinue their exertions, and the temperance reformation should cease to go forward, when the thousands of drunkards who now curse our land, shall have been summoned to the bar of God, by whom will their places in iniquity and wretchedness be supplied ?—when they shall be crying for one drop of cold water, to cool the tip of their tongues, by what class of persons will the army of drunkards be filled ? Come, ye moderate, temperate drinkers, who say that a little is good, and that in moderate drinking there is no harm—come, tell me, if ye can, in a few fleeting years, when death shall have arrested the career of those that have crossed, before you, the line which separates between the moderate drinker and the drunkard, who but yourselves will then be seen tottering on the brink of the eternal world, with reddened eyes, bloated face, and carbuncled nose—with despairing wife and famished children—with a body full of disease, and a soul full of guilt—without the comforts of this life, and without the hope of the future ?

Have you ever seriously contemplated the origin and progress of the disease of intemperance?—have you marked the gradations by which the drunkard has been brought to his wretched condition ? Perhaps, when he was in his mother's lap, a smiling innocent lamb, fit for the purity of heavenly joy, his unsuspecting mother, in some pleasant cordial, administered the first seeds of that loathsome disease wherewith he is now afflicted ; as he grew to be a fine boy, his father may have given him a little from his own glass, and he may have heard both his parents say that a little is good, and that in moderate drinking there is no harm. When he became a man, he often found occasion to remember this saying,—if he was cold, a little warmed him; if he was hot, a little cooled him; if he was wet, a little would dry him; and if he was ill, a little would cure him ; at any rate, on all occasions he thought he was quite sure that a little would do him no harm. Sometimes, to be sure, in an unguarded moment, he would take a little too much, but then he would most manfully resolve never to do so again. But, alas, the drunkard's resolution is written on the sand, and one glass of rum will wash it away; the disease of intemperance was now preying upon his vitals ; his constitution had undergone a decided change ; without the aid of artificial excitement, his spirits would droop and his limbs would tremble. When he arose in the morning he found a little was very good, and he still thought it could do him no harm,—it braced his nerves, gave vigor to his mind, and very much strengthened his emaciated frame; at nine o'clock his system was again exhausted, and again required excitement; again at twelve, and again at four. Poor miserable victim of fermented and spirituous liquors, now a confirmed drunkard and outcast from society,—his children are growing up in ignorance and vice,—his wife has gone down, with a broken heart to the grave,—he stands tottering on the brink of eternity, without comfort and without hope. Is this a picture of an euthusiastic imagination only, or is it but a faint representation of the sad reality ? Reflect for a

moment, and you will call to your recollection cases, perhaps among your near and dear connections in life, of a more aggravated character than it is possible for the tongue to describe ; and tell me, ye moderate drinkers, what has the pleasures of the flowing bowl to give,—what the joys of hilarity and mirth,—what the scenes of revelry and riot—to compensate for the forfeited enjoyment of sobriety and virtue ? Even should you feel strong enough in resolution, in virtue, or in religion, to continue to indulge an occasional glass without danger to yourselves, consider, I entreat you, the powerful influence of your example upon those around you, and especially such of you as are parents, upon your own children. Everywhere we see the sons of moderate drinkers become intemperate ; the father took a little because it was good, and because a little would do him no harm ; the sons, being more early initiated into the baneful habit, it grew upon them with their growth, and strengthened with their strength, until they have fallen miserable victims to this ruthless destroyer.

Even the wives and the daughters of moderate drinkers are exposed to an infectious atmosphere, which not unfrequently proves fatal to the fairest portion of the creation of God. She who was made to comfort and cheer the lonely condition of man, and with the hand of affection to wipe from his brow his sorrows and his cares, through the baneful example of a loved husband or father, falls a victim to intoxication, and, from a smiling angel of love, becomes a demon of confusion, of wickedness, and shame. Oh ! ye fair daughters of Columbia, shall it ever be told that ye too have become the victims of intemperance ? Will ye part with all that is amiable and lovely for the maddening bowl ? No, we hope better things of you, and on you we rely as the most efficient and enduring promoters of the temperance reformation ; you form the minds of our children in helpless infancy, and on you it devolves to implant in their bosoms an abhorrence of evil and a love of virtue. But let not your efforts in this good work be confined exclusively to your children ; perhaps, some of you have a husband, a father, a brother, or a friend who indulges himself with just a little when he thinks it will do him no harm. When you return to your respective homes, such of you as have some dear friend who is in this dangerous practice, tenderly invite him, in the endearing language of love, to allow you to plead with him for his own safety ; if he be a Christian, call upon him in the name of religion ; if a patriot, in the name of his country ; if a philanthropist, in the name of his fellow men, to set an example such as he would wish the world to follow. If he be a father, call upon him in the name of his children ; gather them around his knees ; hang them upon the skirts of his garments ; call forth all the sensibilities of his soul, and implore him, with the irresistible persuasion of nature's language, to set a good example before his offspring, that he may leave to them the inheritance of virtue, infinitely more valuable than the richest inheritance of gold and silver. Entwine your endearments around his heart, if he have any sensibility left, and plead with him, for the love he bears you, to fly from this all-conquering enemy, before whom kings and emperors have fallen, stripped of all their glory.

A few there are among the professed friends of morality, virtue, and religion, who strenuously maintain that they have no occasion to unite with a temperance society,—they can take care of themselves without being bound by a written pledge,—they can take a little when it will do them good, or they can let it alone. To such, I must say, you are the chief obstacle to the complete triumph of this blessed cause ; the example of one such drinker is productive of more evil, than that of a hundred drunkards ; you give respectability to a custom which is spreading death and desolation

all around you ; you uphold the manufacturers and the venders of the soul-destroying poison ; you alone are answerable for the continuance of the licensing system ; the disease of intemperance is already making its ravages upon you ; it has weakened your resolution, and closed your eyes to your own danger, and is conducting you on to the brink of a precipice, from which thousands as wise, as virtuous, and as loved, have miserably fallen before you.

Were the friends of temperance to follow your example, the temperance reformation would be arrested in its course ; the streams of moral pollution, of wretchedness and wo, would continue uninterruptedly to roll on, and in ten years the disease of intemperance would hurl five hundred thousand of our countrymen down to the drunkard's grave ; and five hundred thousand more, by acting on your principle, would be transformed into confirmed drunkards, and many of yourselves would be found among them.

There is yet another class who, though strictly temperate themselves, and wishing well to the temperance cause, think it would be degrading for them to sign a written pledge to abstain. Many of these think themselves too good to associate with such men as are most active in the temperance reformation, and therefore they stand aloof from all co-operation in that great moral revolution, which God, by the hands of his servants, is now carrying forward for the renovation of the world. To such I can only say : you are acting the part of the priest and the Levite, who passed by a fellow creature in distress, on the other side. You behold thousands around you whose families are made wretched, and who themselves are going down to endless wo, for want of the healthful influence of your active and persevering efforts to reclaim them ; you hold, under God, their destiny for time and for eternity in your hands ; you have talents committed to you to improve for their good, but you bury them in the earth ; you are like the fruitless fig tree, which only encumbered the ground ; you are of those that know to do good and do it not, and to you it is sin ; and when the glorious day shall arrive in which there shall be joy in heaven for those who, by the instrumentality of others, have been plucked as brands from the burning, and they shall be united in singing the praises of Him who has redeemed them by his blood from the pit of pollution, where then will be those feelings of arrogance and pride which are now exhibited in thanking God that you are not as other men are. He whom you profess to serve, has manifestly put forth his hand in this great work ; his truth is pledged that it shall prosper, and shall not fail ; it is one link in the great chain of events which is to prepare the world for the universal reign of the Prince of peace ; and will not you be persuaded to contribute your share to the promotion of this glorious cause ?

Reverently should we send up our orisons of thanksgiving and praise, that the Father of mercies has been graciously pleased to open our eyes to the necessity of one great and united effort in opposing that torrent of ruin, which, as a mighty deluge, was threatening to sweep all that was fair and lovely from this chosen land of his heritage.

Reverently should we bow in humble adoration of his goodness, that he has been pleased to put forth his own Almighty arm to stay the flood ; and that in the thick and dark cloud which has so long overshadowed our land, he has permitted us to see the dawning of a bow which gives the promise of a brighter and a better day.

ADDRESS OF THOMAS P. HUNT.

THE DUTY OF TEMPERANCE MEN AT THE BALLOT BOX.

The traffic in intoxicating drinks is dangerous to the morals and to the prosperity of the country, and must be prohibited.

It is not necessary to enumerate, in detail, the evils which have resulted from the traffic in poisons, to sustain this proposition. The proof relied upon, at present, is this: every state and kingdom in Christendom has given it as a reason for attempting to control the traffic, by, what is called, the license system. In seeking to place the trade in the hands of good men, and excluding it from the morally incompetent, the object is to guard the public from the abuse and nuisance of the trade. How far this object has been attained, is seen in the characters and doings of most of those who are recommended and licensed. If to beat a wife, to curse and swear, and adulterate liquors with poisons, to violate the Sabbath, encourage gambling, allure the young, and destroy the old, be qualifications required by law to obtain a license, then verily most of the grogmen are not found wanting in their attainments. The object of the law, however, is defeated. It is high time that the license laws be repealed, and the retail traffic be prohibited. Those nuisances, over which are hung caricatures of Washington, Franklin and Penn, are a disgrace to the land, and an offence against heaven. They ought to be uprooted and destroyed.

Some objections against the repeal of the license laws will be attended to.

1. *We must provide places where travellers can be refreshed.*—Poisons and refreshments are not necessarily united; and the traveller may be more comfortably accommodated without the miserable concomitants of grog-shops, than with them.

2. *But travellers have a right to select their own refreshments.*—Admitted. But they have no right to demand that the public shall provide them. Has the gambling and libertine traveller the right of demanding legalized accommodations for his sensuality and crime? By what right, then, does the drunkard claim it?

3. *But we plead only for the moderate drinkers, and not for drunkards.*—The experience of ages proves that moderate drinkers can do without drink for a short period, without inconvenience. And there is not one of them who would not regard the contrary affirmation as an insult. Besides no vender would engage in the business, if the gain were to be derived solely from the strictly moderate drinker. But, be this as it may.—The existence of a rum hole, has always been the nursery of idleness and crime. No traveller, who, without inconvenience to himself, can do without such places,—and he who cannot, is not moderate,—has the right to demand that every cross road, and lane, and corner in the land shall be filled with nuisances for his use.

4. *But regulate them properly.*—This cannot be done. If they are proper and safe, like other good institutions, they will regulate themselves. If unsafe, they cannot be made useful. The moral tendency of licensing a dangerous evil, must always be unfriendly to virtue. Such a system can never, never make vice promotive of morals nor safe to the country. If in days, when good men, even ministers of the word, and rulers in Zion, and communicants of the church, distilled and sold and bought and used the poison, the expressions came in use, “sober as a parson,” “drunk as a deacon,” “fuddled as a churchman;”—if where respect was paid to law

and men endeavored to execute its intentions, drunkenness increased until it was difficult to tell who was sober,—what are we to expect in these days, when vice and abomination walk forth in high places, and men in authority patronise the grog shops, and court their influence? It is about as safe to trust children with powder in a blacksmith's shop, or brewers with *nux vomica*, as it is to expect that human nature, as it is, and intoxicating drinks can come in contact without producing evil. The experiment to prevent this evil, by licensing it, has been as signal in its failure, as it was unwise in its conception. No stranger, nor traveller, has a right to demand that it shall be continued. For their gratification, millions of money have been wasted, hundreds of families made miserable, thousands of souls ruined. It is time that society refuse to listen to the demand of the sensualist, who cannot move, unless rivers of beer, and lakes of wine, and oceans of gin be provided for him during his journey. It may refresh him, but it is disease and death for the families and neighborhoods that may be so kind to him, and cruel to themselves, as to furnish such accommodations.

It is a subject worthy of examination, whether the establishment of inns does more harm or good. How far do they tend to increase or to diminish the virtues of the heart? Is it not possible that they injure the land, in a way not much observed, on account of the silence of its operation? No allusion is made here to the offers of temptation to idleness and dissipation, nor to the character of many often connected with license houses. But investigations may show, that the general tendency of public houses may be to weaken, and, ultimately, to destroy some of the most lovely and wholesome requisitions of the gospel. And whatever has this tendency ought to be watched with unwearied vigilance, and to be guarded with most jealous care. It is admitted, that public houses of some kind may be necessary or useful. But too much anxiety for travellers' accommodation, and too little regard for gospel principles, may have been manifested in this matter. Does providing a grog shop or a tavern for strangers, fulfil the injunction of Christ, "Be not forgetful to entertain strangers"? Suppose Abraham had sent his travellers to an Inn, would he "thereby have entertained an angel"? It is somewhat doubtful whether this duty is performed by licensing a public house, in which the stranger may tarry, if he have money, or be turned out, if he have not. *Again*: Does the sending of strangers to public houses fulfil the command, "Be given to hospitality"? If so, great is the hospitality of some countries, and great the holy obedience of some Christians. For throughout the whole land, almost in sight of each other, are these hospitable institutions to be found, where the stranger, at his own cost and charges, may be laid under a weight of gratitude to those whose houses and furniture cost thousands of dollars, yet who have no room, nor bed, nor meat for him, whom his Saviour commands them to entertain, and to whom they must be hospitable. Does not the multiplying of public houses furnish an excuse for the neglect of the Christian duty of hospitality? Do they not lead to avarice and selfishness! and, in this way, do more harm than they ever did good? When in the South, taverns were few and far between, strangers were gladly received, kindly treated, and found a home and friend, wherever they went. The superabundance of the gifts of a kind providence was cheerfully shared with the traveller. And the intercourse, and interchange of kindly feelings and offices, the guest receiving hospitality, and the host information and instruction, often formed friendships stronger than death. But these days are fading away. Taverns are springing up every where. Butter, and eggs, and feathers, and oats, and grass, and time, are now becoming money; and the traveller may now find at one end of the union the hospitality he left at the other, which mostly

consists in leaving, too often to sharking Bonifaces, the discharge of every Christian obligation to the stranger !!

5. *But how could all the strangers be accommodated amongst us, without public-houses?*—It is not affirmed that public-houses are not in part necessary, but the difficulty of the whole subject consists more in the selfishness of the heart, than in the nature of the case.

Since the passage of the law in Massachusetts, to break up tippling-shops, the inn-keepers came to a mutual understanding not to open their houses on a Court-week. The judges, lawyers, jurors, witnesses, plaintiffs, and defendants arrived. In his own door stood each landlord, his arms folded in proud independence—stable-yards shut up. “No entrance nor entertainment for man nor beast. The Legislature has attempted to interfere with our rights. We will sell nothing, furnish nothing, unless we can do as we please.” What was to be done? The citizens of the place rang the town-bell, called a meeting, distributed the visitors among them, and in a few hours, all were accommodated—and the grogites began to find that they had caught a Tartar. Now what was the result of this experiment? All were contented. The vicious, not liking virtuous company, returned to their own homes, as soon as they could; and the temptations, obscenities, and vice, usually making a Court-week to be dreaded, were unknown. And thus, we believe, it would be every where, did men love “to welcome the coming and to speed the parting guest.” Public taverns, in every age and country, kill the generous feelings of the soul. Would the Saviour have been born in a manger, had there been no inns in Bethlehem? Would we not now frequently hear the man of God inquiring, according to the Scriptures, who amongst us was worthy, and abiding with us, if taverns were not the representatives of our hospitality? Would holy men come and go, without our knowing it? Would they be compelled to inquire for grog-shops, instead of holy families, in which they might tarry, if men professing godliness were to practise it more? In the last judgment this sentence will be pronounced:—“I was a stranger and ye took me not in; inasmuch as ye did it not unto one of these that believe in me, ye did it not to me.” Will the neglectors of this duty escape, by pointing to licensed taverns, and saying, “Lord, behold the performance of our duty, in providing for your friends a resting-place in the synagogue of satan, because it cost us no time, nor money, and saved us from much inconvenience and occasional impositions”? Excuse as we may, yet there is a defect here that requires attention. Whether taverns are the result of selfishness or create it, the neglect of Christians, on this subject, is too frequent, and too evident; and the olden days of gospel hospitality will never be restored under the license system. When Christians shall more frequently open their houses to strangers, and admit them to their homes and their firesides, giving, not grudgingly, but of a free will, much of that vice and intemperance, which now make taverns necessary, will be banished. But, be this as it may, the license system of making drunkards must be done away. No stranger nor traveller can demand the sacrifice of our families, our hopes, our peace, that wine-bibbing travellers may get drunk according to law. The license system must be stopped—but how?

When Sawney was found stealing into a garden, with intentions best known to himself, the owner asked him where he was going. “Going bock agin,” was his reply. So good men must go back again to first principles. They enacted the license system, and gave it their influence by accepting the appointment of retailers. What good man would retail hydrophobia? Yet the death of the drunkard is as certain, his disease as horrid, and his end more awful than the hydrophobist. Never a drunkard died without the

aid of a vender—and never a drunkard died that was not damned. Can any good man lend his influence to such a work of everlasting death? No, no—let every good man set his face against it. Never let his opposition to it cease, until the traffic is forbid, and the contraband trade branded with that odium which is affixed to the abominable, yet much less mischievous, crimes of counterfeiting and of sheep-stealing. Let good men do their duty at the **POLLS**, where they did the mischief, and the work will be done.

7. *What! make temperance a political affair?*—Why not? Is it not so already? Is it not a part of the policy of the country to license the traffic? It must be changed. Will a wine-drinking, rum-elected Legislature do it? No; never. Will a grog-drinking, rectifying, distilling, retailing set of constituents ever do it? No. Good men must do the deed, or it will never be done.

8. *But you will weaken the moral force of temperance, by mixing it with politics.*—Well, if we do, we will improve the polities by the mixture—and that will be something worth gaining. But do the grogmen weaken their influence by mixing it with polities? Is not this the way they have governed the land? Do they not work constantly by night and by day? Do they hesitate any where, any way, on all occasions, to exert their whole influence in elections?—and do they weaken their cause by it? No. Let us be as wise as they are, and we will soon grow stronger than they are. They will go, in a body, for men who will favor their cause, and they oppose with “*tooth and nail*” all who oppose them. Does it weaken their cause? No; nor will it ours. The only way to enable the moral influence of temperance to gain its whole strength, is, to let it be practically felt, carried out on all occasions where it can be exercised, and is demanded. This is the great beauty and excellency of moral influence—it is not weakened, but strengthened, by practice. Whenever good men will cause their influence to be felt, they will be respected, and not before. How do matters now stand? The moral portion of the community is regarded as a craven-hearted set of cowards, who live, and speak, and act, only by the courtesy and charity of their opponents. So long have the wicked frightened good men with the cry of “Church and State,” or some other charge, equally false and absurd—so long have they occupied all political influence, and controlled the destinies of the country, entailing upon it disaster, ruin, and disgrace—that they believe, in their hearts, that good men have not the moral courage, nor the right, even to complain of the union of more sin than virtue, more self than patriotism, which they have been making so long, to the dishonor of the very name of anything that is just, or equal, or decent. Under this belief see how they act! The most profligate, gambling, swearing, murdering, unchaste spendthrift may be nominated as a candidate. They care not for us. We must vote for him, or we will ruin our religious influence, or divide the party. Our wishes on most subjects are disregarded, and if opposed by the wicked, are neglected and refused. And what is the reason? Because they know that we will either vote for them again, or which is the same thing, keep away from the polls. And, as they believe, so we have acted. But, say they, “Let us neglect to hear the grogites—let us not consult them—let us oppose their views and wishes—let us abate one jot of their demands, and a day of swift vengeance awaits us. At the ballot-box we hear from them.” They know it; they feel the moral influence of the tippler-maker, and respect it most profoundly, because the wicked are not slow to vengeance, nor ungrateful to those who serve them best, (until they can get others to serve them better.) And so, when good men determine to vote for no man to *any* office, who is not the enemy of all tippling houses, both small and great—when it is known that

they will call to account officers for disregarding their lawful wishes, and manifest their disapprobation of their misdemeanor at the ballot-box, we will see that the moral influence of our cause is not weakened. Morals are worth nothing, if they are unfit to be acted out consistently, wherever they can act.

9. *But will you not lose some men of influence from your side, who love politics more than they do morals?*—Like enough. But it is no loss to get rid of such men. Judas never thought of betraying his master, until he could not have the price of the alabaster box of costly ointment bestowed to his keeping. All who keep company with us, because they carry the bag, may forsake us; but no friend of temperance will ever take sides against us, and with the enemies of virtue and of good order. However much they may desire to be kept out of the scrape, when the battle rages they will be found with us. For the moment they herd with the bulls of Bashan, all will know that they never were our friends.

10. *But will not the grog-men sell themselves to any party that will protect them?*—They offered to do so in Massachusetts. But hydra-headed in baseness as party politics may be, where can you find a party mean enough to be bribed by drunkard-makers, with drunkards? But if it were so, what party would be profited? Which has most to gain, and most to lose, by sweeping those moral pests, the grog-shops, from the land? Men of all political creeds are our warm and devoted friends—and here is our strength. If the grog-men sell their politics for rum protection, and form a party under the banner of Bacchus and “blue ruin,” there will not be a friend of good morals found among them—all such will be on our side.

11. *But had you not better wait until a more opportune time of carrying this question to the polls? Great interests are at stake, and you may so weaken our cause as to ruin us.*—Who is it that makes this objection? Is it a Van Burenite? No. Verily he would blush to own that his success depends on the patronage of bottles and gills. Is it a Whig? Why, no—he would feel it an everlasting disgrace to avow that the strength of his party could be weakened by Jaek Snipes and Zachariah Snoodle. Who is it then? Why, nobody will own such a child of corruption and of folly! But suppose they did, now is the very time for us to move. The parties are straining every nerve. At the next election Greek will meet Greek. They need every man they can get. They cannot afford to lose a few thousands. They know that every *honest* political scheme can be executed as well by men who are opposed to *lobby-boring* and *grog-shops*, as by the lobster-moving machines of gin-loving propensities. Let them give us men that we can consistently vote for. Let the politicians make the selections, and decide for themselves. If they believe that their strength and fastness are found with the grog-men, let them go with them—but we cannot keep them company. Let them fight it out by themselves. Let us be wise, and while they are licking their wounds, panting and exhausted in the combat, we will run away with the prize. But if the friends of intelligence and morality, of domestic peace and public tranquillity, be worthy of respect, let them give us men who will respect us. It is not desired by us to nominate, nor to dictate what individuals shall be nominated. All that we ask is—present a ticket plcdged against *lobby-boring* and the license system. The politicians will scarcely dare refuse us; for they well know we have zeal and strength enough to make a ticket for ourselves. Their weakness is our strength. Let this opportunity pass by, and long will it be ere again it occurs.

There never was a time, when it was convenient for men, elected by the enemies of morality, to attend to the moral welfare of the community.

Such a measure savors too much of religion, of a kingdom not of this world, to suit the theory, inclination, and practice of many, whose virtue is, to please the people, and whose patriotism, to take care of themselves. Party politicians are almost always too busy to find time to serve the cause of God and of morals.

Can any legislation that does not directly promote virtue, or that indirectly protects vice, secure the only lawful end of all legislation—that of advancing the honor and the happiness of the country? No, never. And shall we for ever remain silent? Shall we always wait until it suit men who never intend to get ready to act with us? Shall we never dare to demand that virtuous men, who alone can or will make and sustain virtuous laws, shall be our representatives? If morals are ever attended to as they ought to be by legislators, it will be by those who are elected by good men. Let good men, then, cease to help the wicked,—let them select men who will give morals a prominent place in legislation and in their own actions and affections. And now is the time to do it.

12. *But would it not be better to leave to the constituted authority the correction of the evils of society?*—In America there is no authority, but God, above the people. They alone have the right of saying how society shall be governed. That good men claim and exercise the right of appointing moral men as their constituted authorities, is what *we* demand, and *you* resist. We do not throw all the blame upon the authorities. Even the honest execution of the license laws, as they now are, will not, cannot remove the evils of which we complain. But the constituted authorities have failed in their duty. Seven tippling houses were convicted at one Court, and fined one cent and costs! Two poor women, sent by an alderman to give evidence before the grand jury, had the cost to pay and were threatened with the jail for doing their duty. One of the grand jurors was a distiller, and swore that he would have the bill ignored. A minister of the gospel, *subpœnaed* as a witness against a disorderly house, had the costs thrown upon him, and he would have been cast in jail, had not a friend paid them for him. Drunkards by scores are fined a trifle, not for being drunk, but for being found so, and sent to the prison to be supported by the public, until they become sober. Remonstrances, signed by the most influential and respectable men, have been treated, in the language of an alderman on the bench, as “a damn temperance humbug.” Men who beat their wives, most notorious drunkards, against whom civil process was even then in the hands of the constable, and known to be so at the time by the Court, have been licensed. Men of notorious bad character, recommended by rum sellers and distillers living out of the vicinity of the nuisance, have succeeded against the desire of neighbors, property holders, and inhabitants of the districts. Instances might be adduced of men high and men low in authority, drinking on the Sabbath day in grog shops, open contrary to law. The constituted authorities need reforming. It would be as consistent to set the devil to watch the truth, as to depend on many men even for the execution of laws, defective as they are.

13. *But why not urge the Legislature to alter the laws?*—So we have. Petition upon petition has been sent, and disdained to be noticed. Woman in her loveliness has entreated—but woman has no vote, and her prayer was disregarded. Petitions have been sent in, and, when received, placed in the hands of a committee, the chairman of which was a distiller; and, of course, no more was ever heard of them. One petition, directed to be presented by the unanimous vote of an assembly composed without reference to party, and signed by upwards of 1,400 signatures, was not noticed. And why? *Because there was nobody there to attend to it.* Well, we do

not wish to be represented by *nobody* any longer. We can find *somebody* that will attend to our wishes, or, if we cannot, we can and will at least TRY to do it. Until we have done this it is folly to urge the Legislature, that can be bored and have been bored until they will hold nothing that is good. When will the friends of their country be wise! Christian patriots and philanthropists vote for men whose hands are stained in “honorable murder,” and then petition the murderers to punish themselves! Most absurd! Patriots and parents elect drunkards and drunkard-makers to the Legislature; record their votes with the most abandoned in society, for the most profligate; then petition drunkards, or the advocates and dependents on grog shops, to break up the very system to which they owe their power and elevation, and upon which they are dependent for their continuance! Shame on such inconsistent conduct! Let us do the only thing that can be done to urge the Legislature to protect us from the taxation, crime, and wretchedness caused by the traffic of intoxicating drinks:—withdraw ourselves from those unfriendly to our cause, and support sound men and true.

14. *But ought not prudence to direct you?*—Yes; any measure that is contrary to sound prudence, or Christian expediency, is contrary to the dictates of sound morality. But what is prudence? Where there is nothing to lose, and every thing to gain—when the object is lawful, cannot injure, and probably will do good, is it *prudent* to engage in it, or not? Most certainly. Now what have we to lose by urging this cause at the polls? The grog-men have already, have always done it. Officers for being faithful in the discharge of their duty against them, have been turned out for no other cause; while many are afraid to do their duty, fearing the same treatment. Our best men have been rejected for no better reason than that of not being grog-bruisers. The road to popular favor, to preferment and honor, is proscribed, unless it lead through feasts, at which wine flows, or at treats where baser drink is furnished for baser men. We have been despised and scoffed at, neglected, ridiculed. Our wishes are neither consulted nor respected. By the blessing of God, our cause has forced itself on through the burning enmity, the unyielding opposition, the foul slander, the bitter revilings, and the cold contempt of its enemies; while many who make great professions of friendship for us, yet dreading that exercise of it which calls for suffering and sacrifices in a cause they love, have left us to struggle without the aid of their sympathy, which is bestowed at wine parties, and over bottles of beer, amidst the plaudits of the sensualists, or those who hate us most intensely. We have nothing to lose. If defeated, we stand “*as we were.*” For already we are but hewers of wood and drawers of water to political demagogues. The Egyptians are our masters. They cannot serve us worse than they have done. They have already butchered our sons—impoverished and made miserable our daughters. They have established a palace for drunkards, and in heavy taxes too grievous to be borne, compelled us to pay an amount of many thousand dollars yearly, to worthless vagabond loafers. They have occupied our offices—disgraced our country; they have blown up our steamboats, shipwrecked our vessels, overturned our stages and cars, filled our grave-yards, crowded our jails, erected the gibbet and furnished the victims, fired the mob, defied the law, desecrated our holy rest, been the caterer of vice in all its most odious forms, crowded us in coaches, and steamboats, and cars, with the fetid breath of drunkards, fed the cholera, educated children in idleness, ignorance, and vice. What more can they do, than they have done? Let the gamblers, and unclean, and drunkards, and those who are their friends and abettors, conquer us, and still we have lost nothing; but we will gain much in the satisfaction of having done our

duty, and the consciousness that we are able to make the effort to do it. Our defeat may enable them still to rule the country with poverty, and tears, and crimes. But it will teach them that they shall never, no never, boast again that we took sides with them, in electing men like unto themselves. But, we can succeed. Already has Tennessee set the example. Massachusetts has followed it. Pennsylvania! the land of Penn! has it no strength? Are there not men who love the name and revere the memory of him, who never swore, nor broke his word, who will carry out his principles? Yes—yes. To the polls then, and tell it there,—there testify against the traffic in intoxicating drinks. There proclaim the tidings: Those who have made the nations drunk with their wine, ARE FALLEN! ARE FALLEN!!

15. *But is there not danger that the principles you advocate will be adopted, and carried out by other bodies, and for other objects?*—If they are correct they ought to be. None ought ever to vote for any man who refuses to do whatever his station can do, and that which must be done in his station. The enemies of morality carry it out always. They are wise. What do they want with representatives? To do their bidding; to carry out their views on all legislative subjects. They will have none other, and they are right in principle, and accountable to God for their practice. Do Bank and Anti-bank men vote for those opposed to their views? Well, why should we be required to vote against our views and our understanding? The duty of all men is, to let their moral influence be felt, to cause it to pervade every avenue, through which access may be obtained, for the promotion of virtue, and of truth. That laws not only indicate public sentiment, but also have a powerful influence in moulding public morals, none will deny. If good men keep away from the polls, bad men will flock to them, and elect men of their own views. And what is the consequence? Let scenes in Harrisburg, within sound of the click of the state-house bell, answer. We repeat it: It is in vain to expect the enactment of wholesome laws, and the execution of such as are enacted, until men, who love virtue, cause it to be done. A moral influence must be exerted at the ballot box; that is the place to begin and to end the matter. Whatever the Legislature can do to promote the cause of humanity, and of literature, ought to be done,—and whatever it alone can do, must be required of it. Those who do not demand that action, or silently acquiesce in its neglect, have failed of their duty. It is admitted that bad men may, nay, that bad men have, and do act on the principle for which we contend. It is also admitted that danger may, nay, has accrued from bad men adopting and acting upon it. For this there is but one remedy: Let good men take hold of it too; let all enjoy the privilege. It is right. No man without sin against his God, his country, and himself, can vote for men and for measures, which will defeat his views of what is right and best to be done; or which will sustain a course opposed to his convictions of duty and of truth.

16. *But will not the country be ruined by such a contest?*—No. The carrying out of this principle is the only thing, with God's blessing, that can save the country. The providences of God, in relation to our land, have been most remarkable. Whether in maddening the counsels of the mother, or in giving wisdom to the daughter—in weakening the loins of the mighty, or in strengthening the hands of the weak—in awakening the breeze, or in hushing the storm—in every stage of our country's history, God has dealt with us as he has done with no modern nation. None can imagine that all the effusion of love, and profusion of light, all the wonderful doings of the Lord, do not justify the expectation of beholding some coming glory, more bright, pure, extensive and permanent than the world has ever seen.

If rivers and mountains, and ideal lines, do not separate from the affections of our Father, that family which he has made of one flesh, to dwell upon the earth, we may conclude that what is done amongst us, is done for the whole world.

A conflict for principle, distinguishes us from all other people. For gold, or conquest, the canvass was spread, and the unknown way tempted by other colonies. For conscience sake and for principle the Saxon blood now flows in American veins. To this conflict there has been no truce, no respite, from the foundation of our country to this present hour. Nor will there be, until every theory be examined, every principle tested, that fools may dream, or wise men prove. Heretofore there has been nothing too sacred to escape attack, nor too valuable to remain untouched. Every relation of man to man, and of man to God, has been, or will be submitted to the test of truth, or to the torture of error. Vain is the hope of checking this struggle. It gave our country birth and being. It has been its milk in infancy, its meat in manhood, and will be its strength in age. Can it then ruin the country? No. The Lord has selected our land for the glorious battle-field of intellect, virtue, and liberty, against ignorance, vice, and despotism. He hath done great things for the world through us. He will do greater. He hath given to our keeping the oracles of truth and of freedom. He will give grace to enable us to preserve them for the world. But these privileges must be valued, and this grace sought, or our light will become obscure in noon-day, and darkness will cover the people, and gross darkness the nations.

America is not only the refuge of the oppressed; it is also the den of the fugitive from virtue, the cave of the bandit of ignorance and vice. If none but lovers of truth came amongst us, and none but the friends of truth were born in our midst, then had our fathers, in gaining us victory, given us rest. But it is not so. The slave of the despot, the votary of superstition, and the gormand of vice, allured, not by our virtue, but our flesh pots, come among us, not to be free, but to be drunken. They are met by our corrupt, and mingle with our own depraved. Vice and ambition and avarice are ready to employ both in a warfare against truth and morals. In other countries the confused noise of the warrior drowns the voice of reason; and the sword and the sceptre are teachers of rights. But with us, we have, nor need no such auxiliaries; our warriors are our citizens, and our teachers are ourselves. Our rulers and our ruled are all one and the same; and we must settle the question of the extension, perpetuity, and blessings of our present form of civil and religious liberty. And we will settle it. Virtue or vice, ignorance or knowledge, will triumph. Let the conflict go on. Give fair play; and no desponding fears will move us, even though again and again defeated. Hope brightens as the battle rages fiercest. We cannot despair of our country's glory becoming the glory of the whole earth, so long as our citizens will fearlessly examine any principle, theory, or practice, we care not what. Nothing is so much to be dreaded as the peace of the grave yard, where all is corruption, or the stillness of death, where all is silent and impotent. The battle is not always to the strong, nor the race to the swift. But defeat has never yet been known when love gave speed, justice strength, and truth led the host. The laggard in love and the dastard in truth can never triumph over those, whose hope is in God, whose object is his glory, and whose guide is his word. There is no cause of dread, nor of failure, unless truth and humanity shrink from the conflict. We know that the victors must expect the smnt of battle. But there are Washingtons, and Greens, and Warrens, and Stuarts in truth as well as in war, who will not regard their faces nor their linen, if the bunting flag of truth and liberty may be saved from

the foot of the enemy, and float in mild triumph over every foe. Let the conflict for principle rage on. It is the hope, the safety, and the glory of our land. Give it up, and the designing, and wicked, and destroying will soon leave nothing worth weeping for, of all that countless treasure which now exalts us, in point of privilege, to heaven. Carry it on, and the enlightened, and pure, and virtuous must triumph. Gird on the truth. Let our influence be felt wherever it can tell on earth, and wherever we will be accountable for it in the judgment. Give no rest or aid to the enemies of temperance. If they can do without us, we do them no harm by withdrawing from them. If they cannot, why should we become responsible for their sins, by giving them our aid to keep undisturbed possession of the land, not to bless it, but to curse both ourselves and them? Go on, and fear not. For until the enemy can scale the battlement of heaven, and pluck the crown from the brow, and the sceptre from the hands of the God of love and of truth, we and our country, and our cause are safe.

EXERCISES OF THE SECOND DAY.

ON the morning of the 15th, at 10 o'clock, the spacious saloon was again filled with a highly respectable and intelligent assembly. The exercises were commenced by reading the following letters:

TROY, N. Y. January 8, 1838.

Respected Friends:—Your letter on the subject of the Pennsylvania Hall, was received some days since, but owing to peculiar engagements I could not well reply to it till this morning. I need hardly say that I feel a deep interest in your movements. I trust the spirit of old Pennsylvania is awaking from its slumbers, and will make itself known through all this republic. It has been a matter of deep regret, that no place among you has been open to free discussion. Yours is the last city in the Union where this fact ought to exist. And I do rejoice, that a few friends of liberty are now about to roll away this reproach. I trust the whole country, as well as your city, will feel the influence of your enterprise.

In relation to the invitation which you have given me to make an address at the opening of the Hall, I feel much gratified by the favor you have conferred upon me. I accept of the appointment, and, if a kind Providence permit, I shall endeavor to fulfil it.

Most respectfully yours,
NATHAN S. S. BEMAN.

Messrs. Samuel Webb, Wm. H. Scott,--Committee.

TROY, N. Y., April 12, 1838.

My Respected Friends:—I received your kind letter informing me of the arrangements made for opening the Pennsylvania Hall, some time since, and have been waiting for more light in regard to the will of Providence respecting my own participation in the scenes of that truly important era in your city. When I accepted your appointment, I had no doubt but I could be with you and perform the part assigned me. Indeed, I felt highly honored in your choice, and my feelings were deeply enlisted. But since

the early part of February, my health has been much impaired, and is at this time very precarious. Such are my deep convictions as to my own inability to fulfil the high duties which have been kindly assigned me by the committee, that I ought no longer to postpone the painful task of advising you of the fact. I know you will feel a disappointment in this matter, but I do assure you it should be otherwise if it were in my power. My own heart is with you; my best efforts in the cause of freedom and in favor of the oppressed should be made on that occasion, had I strength to embark in this truly beneficent work. But Providence has decided otherwise, and it is my duty to submit. May all these matters be directed for good, and our very disappointments tend to advance the cause. As to your enterprise, it is a noble one. It was called for, and I trust it will prosper. We cannot sell the rights of conscience, the freedom of speech, and the liberty of the press. We cannot forbear to express our abhorrence of *chains* and *stripes*; and should we do it, *the very stones would cry out*. I rejoice that there is a spirit still in existence, and still awake, in your venerable city, that will not bow to the altar of *slavery*, nor tamely submit to the dictation of those who declare, in high places, that it is a wise and holy institution, and that it shall be perpetual. What a contest is this to be waged in a land of *Republicanism* and a land of *Christianity*? But if the charters of these two systemis—the Declaration of Independence and the Bible—are permitted to speak, how certain it is that *the rights of man will be triumphant*.

With deep and heartfelt sympathy in your movements, and with the most cordial and personal regard,

I am yours truly,

NATHAN S. S. BEMAN.

Messrs. Samuel Webb and Wm. H. Scott,—Committee.

PHILADELPHIA, February 7, 1838.

Respected Friends:—I received your note inviting me to be present at the opening of the Pennsylvania Hall, on the 15th of May next. My engagements prevented an immediate answer, which I intended to return in a day or two, but it has been deferred until the present time—a delay for which I have no sufficient apology. If it be possible, without great inconvenience, I will attend. What specific objects you have in view, apart from free discussion, I have not heard; but that they are honorable and praiseworthy, I have no reason to doubt. The fact that the right of free discussion has been called in question by men in high places, is *itself* a ground for directing public attention to the danger that threatens it. If we submit to encroachments upon this right from one quarter, they will soon assail it from another. The right to speak and to write without any restraint, other than that which represses licentiousness and calumny, and also the right to petition governments for a redress of grievances, are among the most sacred and inviolable of all rights, and must not be abridged or questioned without a firm resistance. They are to be fearlessly asserted at all times, in all places, and under all circumstances; I will listen to no man who talks of exigencies that may justly suspend the exercise of this right. No such exigencies can ever arise.

I am, with much respect, your friend,

WALTER FORWARD.

Messrs. Samuel Webb, W. H. Scott, and Wm. M'Kee,—Committee.

WASHINGTON, January 30, 1838.

Friends:—I received, on yesterday, your esteemed favor of the 26th instant, and I congratulate you, and the country, that in your city a Hall has been erected, sacred to liberty and free discussion. Born in Pennsylvania.

but at a very early age removed into the Western country, I was a citizen of Ohio, at the time of the adoption of her Constitution, and during the greater part of the last thirty years have borne an humble part in the legislative assembly of my own state, where by my best efforts I have constantly endeavored to maintain and establish those great principles, in support of which your society is now engaged. I feel unable to express my heartfelt emotions on receiving your invitation to be present at the opening of the Hall in the emporium of my native state, a city renowned for its philanthropy and benevolence, and now affording new evidence of those estimable virtues, by the erection of a hall, in which liberty and equality of civil rights can be FREELY discussed, and the evils of slavery fearlessly portrayed. While the spirit of slavery is grasping at the power of our country, threatening a disunion of the states unless free discussion concerning it be destroyed, and even in the free states marking its progress in scenes of blood, it is a cause for joy and gratulation that Pennsylvania—that PHILADELPHIA is about to consecrate one spot, at least, where its evils may be fearlessly portrayed. Slavery is a spirit which hates the light, because its deeds are evil, and to banish it entirely from our country, free discussion alone is amply sufficient. I rejoice in the awakening energies of the country, and in receiving almost daily assurance that my fellow citizens are determined to maintain those inalienable rights, without which they would be in a situation little in advance of the African slave himself.

I will, if life and health permit, endeavor to be present at the opening of your Hall, but I would gladly dispense with the delivery of an address on that occasion, could I do so consistent with your wishes, as I cannot suppose myself capable of adding any information to that mass which is already before the public, on this interesting topic: but whatever feeble service I can render to the great and good cause in which you are engaged will be cheerfully offered.

You will for yourselves, and those whom you represent, accept the assurance of my highest regard.

THOMAS MORRIS.

Messrs. Samuel Webb, J. M. Truman, and Wm. M'Kee,—Committee.

The following letter from THOMAS MORRIS was also received by the Committee, but not in time to have it read.

WASHINGTON, May 11, 1838.

Gentlemen:—I have seen in the *Pennsylvania Freeman* of the 3d inst., with sensations of the deepest gratitude, the favorable notice you have been pleased to take of my name in your general invitation to the public to attend the opening of the Pennsylvania Hall on the 14th of the present month, which Hall, I understand, is to be dedicated to free discussion.

It would afford me the highest pleasure to be present and join you in this work of universal charity and love, could I feel that my public duties as well as my health would justify it—domestic concerns having lately called me to Ohio; I have but just resumed my seat here; it seems proper, therefore, that I should not willingly, at this time, absent myself from the Senate.

Your Hall, as I have said, is to be dedicated to free discussion. What a train of solemn reflections does the very thought create in the mind. Is it possible, that in the free state of Pennsylvania, in the quiet and orderly city of Philadelphia, (a city not inaptly called the city of “brotherly love,”) that in all places, and at all times, *free* discussion on all questions connected with the religion, morality, the welfare of the country, or the rights of man,

cannot be had with safety to the citizen, and the peace and quiet of the community? I presume this *cannot* be the case in your city, and was not the great moving cause that induced your humane, philanthropic, and patriotic citizens to erect the Hall which they are about to open.

If, however, Pennsylvania is safe, if Philadelphia is secure from all attempts to put down the right of free discussion, the liberty of speech, and the press, your fellow citizens have seen and felt that all parts of our beloved country is not thus highly favored. It is gratifying, indeed, that while the enemy of human rights and constitutional liberty is, in our country, making rapid advances to power, endeavoring as far as in him lies, not only to silence discussion, but even to muzzle the press itself, knowing that his principles cannot stand the test of examination, Philadelphia has the honor to erect a barrier which he cannot pass, and a battery which he cannot silence, but which will effectually destroy his whole power, by the consecration of a spot where all his pretensions may be fully and fairly discussed.

This act of your citizens I regard not as a local act merely. It is not for Philadelphia alone to receive its benefits, but the whole country—the whole world. Its objects are universal and impartial justice to all men in every condition, to establish each in his own inherent, individual, and unalienable rights, to give warning of approaching danger, and stay the rod of the oppressor; and as such, we claim for the day of consecration a bright page in the history of our country.

Every philanthropist, every moralist must mourn and deplore the riots, burnings, and murders, that of late have taken place in our country. Your own recollections will be sufficient to place before your minds scenes of the most outrageous atrocity. How often has tidings of the destruction of the press, because it has spoken fearlessly in defence of human rights, tingled in your ears? Have you not heard that free born AMERICAN CITIZENS have been, by a lawless mob, subjected to the infamous torture of the WHIP? Has not the weapon of the assassin laid its victim bleeding at his feet, for no crime, for no act but that which you intend to practise in the Hall you have erected—the exercise of the right of FREE DISCUSSION. While I rejoice that your citizens are embodying themselves to march forward to the rescue, I mourn for my country that this same fell spirit which has urged mobs, not only of the “baser sort,” but of citizens who claim to be respectable, to deeds of violence and blood, has found its way in some degree into the councils and official stations of the country, into the bosom of society, and I much fear into the very PULPIT itself, thus rendering insecure all that is dear and sacred to man.

I would willingly draw a veil over the proceedings of that body, of which I have the honor to be a member, in regard to the important right of *free discussion*, if the deep sense of the obligations of duty which I feel to you and the country would permit me to do so. This same spirit, which you are about so nobly to rebuke, has been able, in the very halls of Congress, to silence debate at its pleasure. It has been able to strike its deadly fangs into the most vital part of American liberty. It has denied the right of petition, in all its essential qualities, to a large portion of our fellow citizens, on a subject they deemed worthy of their highest consideration, and materially affecting the honor and interest of our country. If it were possible, I would that I could persuade myself not to believe this, but while the records of our country bear witness to the fact, it cannot be. I fervently pray that the tear of some recording angel may yet be dropped upon the words of shame and dishonor, and blot them out for ever.

If the supreme legislature of the country can rightfully, in any one possi-

ble instance, refuse to receive, hear, and act upon petitions sent by *any portion of the human race* who are subject to our laws, or owe allegiance to our government, I can see no safe guarantee for this high privilege in any case whatever, when it shall come in contact with power, interest, or influence. For if an individual right which was deemed of a character too sacred to be regulated or controlled by the people themselves, by their highest fundamental law, (the Constitution,) and placed by that instrument above the power of Congress to ABRIDGE, can be withheld or restrained by that body, it is hard to discover what political or natural right you, or I, or any other citizen, can calculate upon as secure. If the right of petition fail us, will it not prove that the whole fabric of the Constitution is rotten and not worth our care; its preservation in such case for any valuable purpose might well be considered doubtful.

It is not only the right of petition that has been abridged. *The freedom of debate has been stricken down, and lies dead in the halls Congress.* We are compelled to submit not only to a rule which imposes silence on a question to lay a motion or proposition on the table, and which a majority can always use to put an end to discussion disagreeable to them, however important it may be to others; but the country now mourns the loss of one of her most talented sons, whose life, it is believed, was sacrificed for the exercise of the right of free discussion in the very hall of Congress itself. It would be some consolation if, in the midst of this war upon individual rights, this want of personal security, this waste of political privileges in the chambers of legislation, the judiciary of the country remained firm and uncontaminated. But here we have also to deplore, that the incendiary with the torch in his hand scarcely extinguished, with which he had attempted to fire his neighbor's dwelling, because of that neighbor's exercise of his unquestionable right in the free expression of his opinion; and the mobocrat who has attempted to silence the press by its destruction, together with the assassin whose red hands are yet dripping with the blood of his innocent victim, find not only protection but favor;—and this new code of morals which would impose restraint upon the expression of our thoughts because the truth may affect some pecuniary interest, or expose some wicked practice, teaches the doctrine that a printing press may be broken up, a man's house may be burned, and the owner slain by violence, and yet no one be GUILTY! It has been said, and I think truly, that the verdicts of juries give the character of the country. What, then, will be the character of our country before an impartial world, if juries shall continue to lend themselves to this same spirit of misrule, and violence, and blood?

But if we withdraw our views from the constituted authorities of the land, from men in official stations, and extend it over the country at large, what do we behold? The Bowie-knife and the pistol substituted for reason and argument, usurping the power of the laws, or setting them at defiance,—the actors professing to draw the example from high places of power, and justifying themselves by the actions of men who claim to be among our most respectable citizens. It is against the freedom of speech, the right of free discussion, that these ruffians in society wage their fiercest war.

I am aware that it may be thought that I have written hard things against my fellow citizens; but do not the facts that exist justify me? And should I not be faithless, indeed, and recreant to all my principles, if, when writing to you on the important event which you are about to celebrate, I should either fail or fear to express my thoughts fully and freely? If I did not do so, I might well be considered a mocker of the institutions I profess to honor. The picture I have presented, I know is one not calculated to

flatter our vanity ; but it is no fancy sketch—it has all the painful vividness of reality.

We should ponder on the signs of the times with serious deliberation. We have been and are still a prosperous and favored people ; but I fear that in the eyes of Him in whose hands are our destinies, and who can search the heart, we are viewed as a proud and sinful nation. And if his chastisements have not already commenced, our wickedness, without repentance, must call them down at last.

To understand our errors, and know the evil that besets us, is the first step towards reformation. To examine into, and ascertain the causes which have produced those evils, is necessary to their radical cure. This examination I shall now attempt. There is implanted in our very nature a love of power and dominion, no doubt for wise and beneficial purposes ; but dominion, in the creation of man, was only given him over “the fish of the sea, the fowl of the air, the cattle, and every creeping thing that creepeth upon the face of the earth.” It was never intended by the Creator that man should have dominion over his fellow man, but by his full and free consent. Had this been intended, it would have been given when the boundaries of man’s dominion were fixed and established. The exercise, then, of all power which subjects man to involuntary servitude, and to a dominion to which he has not given his full and free consent, is a violation of the laws of heaven, and contrary to the very nature of man, who, though formed for dominion and imbued with its love, yet has authority from his Maker to exercise it only over inanimate matter, and over creatures not made in the awful image of God !

But when man became wicked and corrupt, he began to usurp dominion over his fellow man, reducing the weaker and less guarded portions of the race to the condition of the cattle of the field. This, however, could not totally destroy the principle of reason within the immortal creature thus degraded ; he knew still that he was entitled to the same rights as his fellow man, and that his condition was the effect of gross injustice and grinding oppression. This produced the constant strife between the oppressed and the oppressor, the fruitful source of violence and crime through all time, and created the desire and stimulated the action of those in power to prevent, as far as possible, all examination into the rights of man as established by his Creator.

The exercise of dominion begat the love of ease and opulence. This could more readily be obtained by appropriating to his own use the labor of others without any just compensation therefor. Thus the love of money, the root of all evil, grew and expanded. In our own time and day, those principles which our fathers intended to subdue and eradicate, if possible, in the formation of a Constitution founded upon the natural and unalienable rights of man, have sprouted afresh, with a luxuriance which is calculated to fill the mind of the just and good with deep and solemn reflection.

I have heard it asserted by a sagacious statesman of our own country, that it was one of the unchanged and unchangeable laws of Providence that one man should live upon the labor of another, that this always had and always would be the case, and *that American slavery, as it existed in the Southern states, was the best human modification of that unalterable decree.* This was the language of a Southern gentleman, from a slaveholding state. The practical operation of this despotic system, of man as an individual usurping dominion over man, and endeavoring to live upon the labor of others, began in our country with the slaveholders, and its ramifications are now seen and felt in all parts of our country. The desire to live upon the unrequited labor of others is acquiring a dreadful universality. It is the

slaveholding power,—this Goliath of all monopolies,—that now brandishes his spear and threatens the overthrow of our most essential rights, and the most sacred of all our privileges. It defies even the Constitution, itself, to engage in single combat. It claims to be before and superior to that instrument, which it contends has acknowledged its superiority, and has guaranteed its existence and perpetual duration. It impudently asserts that it has converted men into property ; and, as a matter of course, any person, when he becomes a CITIZEN of the United States, has a right to the enjoyment and use of this species of property, in each and every state in the Union. It is upon this false position, that a person can be converted by law into a thing, that slavery rests its whole claim—a position at war with the Constitution of the United States, and which ought not to be sustained in our courts of justice. It is provided in the fourth article of the amendments to the Constitution, that the right of the PEOPLE to be secure in their PERSONS against unwarrantable seizure shall not be violated ; and that warrants, when issued, shall particularly describe the PERSONS or THINGS to be seized. I suggest, then, as the settled conviction of my own mind, that our courts of justice cannot rightfully adjudge that a negro slave is property, BECAUSE HE IS NOT A THING, and property consists in things ONLY. That he may be claimed as owing labor or service to another, does not shake, but confirms the argument.

If the free states intend to continue free, as it respects negro slavery and all its concomitant evils, they must not permit that system to take one single step beyond its constitutional, legal, and present geographical boundaries. If it can break one bar of its enclosure, it will be like the unchained lion escaping from his cage—it will make war upon and destroy every obstacle that opposes its onward march. It will be insatiate until all constitutional barriers which may impede its progress shall be broken down and destroyed ; we shall be unable to stay its fury, or appease its rage, or again reduce it to constitutional limits ; and the consequences will be that our entire liberties will be annihilated. The evils and propensities of the slaveholding system, which I have but faintly attempted to describe, are not the workings of imagination. I draw on sober realities and solemn facts. Who in our country justified slavery during the war of the revolution ? No one, who was willing to defend his country from the grasp of the oppressor, or shed his blood in defence of her liberties. Who justified the practice, or contended for its perpetual duration, at the close of that memorable contest ? Not a single hero or patriot of that day. Did any one attempt to make its chains more strong, or bind its victims more securely, or enlarge its borders by any constitutional provision ? No, not one. Slavery at that day was deemed so dissonant to the principles of American liberty, that none were found to render it so much respect as to insert its name, or even the word “ slave,” in the Constitution.

All then looked for and desired the speedy downfall of the entire system ; and Congress proceeded to fix limits to its power, and rebuke its practice upon every possible occasion, as in the ordinance in the year 1787, for the government of the North-Western territory, and in subsequent acts passed after the adoption of the Constitution.

But slavery flattered the pride of man, because it enabled him to extend his legitimate dominion beyond its just and rightful landmarks. It gratified his cupidity by increasing the means of enjoyment. It was adhered to, not as a political, but as an individual claim, and was left subject to the power of the laws, and in that day, like all other subjects, it was freely discussed at all times and in all places without fear or restraint. But what is the condition of the country now ? Slaves have increased vastly in number, and

the power of the slaveholder in equal degree. The acquisition of Louisiana gave new impulse to this power, but it was never practically demonstrated, until the application by Missouri to be admitted into the Union. It was on this occasion that *the first triumph was obtained on the floor of Congress, by the slaveholding power, over the Constitution of the United States*, as well as that of Missouri. The people of Missouri formed for themselves a Constitution, in which they had given their Legislature full authority to prohibit the introduction of any slave into that state, for the purpose of speculation, or as an article of trade or merchandise. When she presented herself for admission into the Union, the slaveholding power in Congress objected to the exercise of this authority remaining with her legislators, and the final compromise was not to compel Missouri to change her Constitution, but that her Legislature, by a solemn public act, to be made in pursuance of a resolution of Congress, should provide and declare that the before-mentioned provision in her Constitution should never be construed to authorize the passage of any law, and that no law should be passed in conformity thereto, by which any citizen of either of the states of this Union, should be excluded from the enjoyment of any of the privileges and immunities to which such citizens were entitled, under the Constitution of the United States. This compromise, which I consider one of the darkest pages in the history of Congress, though submitted to by the people of Missouri, was severely rebuked by them at the time. This was the first open step to place slavery under the provisions of that Constitution which was formed for the safety and security of liberty. It assumes the principle, though covertly, that man may be made property, and that a citizen of either state, has a right to make merchandise of him if a slave, to use him in trade as a chattel, to sell him in any state in which slavery exists, for the purpose of speculation, and that such state has no power to prohibit the sale. This to my mind is a monstrous principle, and at open variance with every provision of a Constitution, immolated, in this compromise, on the altar of slavery. The slaveholding power having thus obtained a foothold on the ramparts of the Constitution, by a violation of its spirit and its letter, now claims that violation as evidence of the right itself, and boldly asserts that the Constitution recognises slavery as one of the institutions of the country, and that the right of the slaveholder to his slave is derived from that instrument. It is here the question must be met, and decided. The arrogance of the slaveholding power, in trampling down the right of petition, and denying the freedom of debate, are only consequences resulting from this assumption of power, and is a foretaste of what we may expect, when it shall have completely established itself (should it be permitted to do so) within the provisions of the Constitution. That instrument will then be no longer what it now is, the home of Liberty. It will be made its grave. This is the first great and combined interest in this country which strikes at equal rights, but all other special and local interests have the same tendency, when they claim peculiar or exclusive privileges.

The monied interest is next to be feared, and whenever that or any other shall have acquired sufficient strength to induce or influence Congress to legislate for its special benefit, there will be an end to that equality of rights which the Constitution designed to establish for the benefit of all.

That our liberties are assailed, and individual as well as political rights disregarded by men in high places of power, none I think will presume to deny; but that the Union or the Constitution are yet so far endangered as to create despondency, I can by no means admit. The unnatural matter which slavery is attempting to engraft upon the Constitution, will soon be

blown off by the breath of popular opinion. The remedy for all evils in the system or administration of our government is in the hands of the people, and **FREE DISCUSSION**—discussion without fear of the pistol of the duellist, the knife of the assassin, the faggot of the incendiary, or the still more dangerous fury of the unbridled mob,—that free discussion which the people *must* and *will* have, soon will work out an effectual cure. It is not in the nature of man to remain for ever deprived of his rights in a country like our own.

But free discussion must be practised to produce its salutary effects. You and your fellow citizens of Philadelphia have set a noble example. Though the sectarian and bigot may exclude you from his sanctuary, and the cringing sycophant to power may shut you out from the Halls erected at your expense and consecrated to justice, yet you are not discouraged, but have again erected your own Hall for a noble purpose—for the purpose of that free discussion, without which religion would languish, and liberty and justice would die. I congratulate the friends of equal rights every where on this praiseworthy effort. I trust its influence will be productive of much good to the human race. I hope that it may cross the mountains and descend the valley of the Mississippi, until free discussion shall have restored the purity of the Constitution, and the reign of righteous law. It will be then, and not till then, that the value and merit of your proceeding in this matter will be duly appreciated, and Pennsylvania will be considered as having furnished new evidence that she is, in reality, the Keystone of our political arch, **THE ARK OF OUR POLITICAL SAFETY.**

With great respect, I am, gentlemen,

Your obedient servant,

THOMAS MORRIS.

Joseph M. Truman, Wm. H. Scott, Wm. McKee, Samuel Webb—*Committee.*

The following poetical address, written by JOHN G. WHITTIER for the occasion, was then read by CHARLES C. BURLEIGH.

A D D R E S S.

Not with the splendors of the days of old—
 'The spoil of nations, and "barbaric gold"—
 No weapons wrested from the fields of blood,
 Where dark and stern th' unyielding Roman stood,
 And the proud Eagles of his cohorts saw
 A world, war-wasted, crouching to his law—
 Nor blazoned car—nor banners floating gay,
 Like those which swept along the Appian way,
 When, to the welcome of imperial Rome,
 The victor warrior came in triumph home,
 And trumpet peal, and shoutings wild and high,
 Stirred the blue quiet of th' Italian sky ;—
 But calm, and grateful, prayerful, and sincere,
 As Christian freemen only, gathering here,
 We dedicate our fair and lofty Hall,
 Pillar and arch, entablature and wall,
 As Virtue's shrine—as Liberty's abode—
 Sacred to Freedom, and to Freedom's God!

O! loftier Halls, 'neath brighter skies than these,
 Stood darkly mirrored in the Ægean seas,
 Pillar and shrine—and life-like statues seen,
 Graceful and pure, the marble shafts between—
 Where glorious Athens from her rocky hill
 Saw Art and Beauty subject to her will—
 And the chaste temple, and the classic grove—
 The hall of sages—and the bowers of love,
 Arch, fane, and column, graced the shores, and gave
 Their shadows to the blue Saronic wave;
 And statelier rose on Tiber's winding side,
 The Pantheon's dome—the Coliseum's pride—
 The Capitol, whose arches backward flung
 The deep, clear cadence of the Roman tongue—
 Whence stern decrees, like words of fate, went forth
 To the awed nations of a conquered earth,
 Where the proud Cæsars in their glory came,
 And Brutus lightened from his lips of flame!

Yet in the porches of Athena's halls,
 And in the shadow of her stately walls,
 Lurked the sad bondman, and his tears of wo
 Wet the cold marble with unheeded flow;
 And fetters clanked beneath the silver dome
 Of the proud Pantheon of imperious Rome.
 O! not for him—the chained and stricken slave—
 By Tiber's shore, or bl^{ue} Ægina's wave,
 In the thronged forum, or the sages' seat,
 The bold lip pleaded, and the warm heart beat—
 No soul of sorrow melted at his pain—
 No tear of pity rusted on his chain!

But this fair Hall to Truth and Freedom given,
 Pledged to the Right before all earth and Heaven,
 A free arena for the strife of mind,
 'To caste, or sect, or color unconfined,
 Shall thrill with echoes such as ne'er of old
 From Roman Hall, or Grecian Temple rolled;
 Thoughts shall find utterance, such as never yet
 The Propylea or the Forum met.
 Beneath its roof no gladiator's strife
 Shall win applauses with the waste of life—
 No lordly lictor urge the barbarous game,
 No wanton Lais glory in her shame.
 But here the tear of sympathy shall flow,
 As the ear listens to the tale of woe—
 Here in stern judgment of the oppressor's wrong
 Shall strong rebukings thrill on Freedom's tongue—
 No partial justice hold th' unequal scale—
 No pride of caste a brother's rights assail—
 No tyrant's mandates echo from this wall,
 Holy to Freedom and the Rights of All!
 But a fair field, where mind may close with mind,
 Free as the sunshine and the chainless wind;

Where the high trust is fixed on Truth alone,
And bonds and fetters from the soul are thrown,
Where wealth, and rank, and worldly pomp, and might,
Yield to the presence of the True and Right.

And fitting is it that this Hall should stand
Where Pennsylvania's Founder led his band,
From thy blue waters, Delaware!—to press
The virgin verdure of the wilderness.
Here, where all Europe with amazement saw
The soul's high freedom trammelled by no law;
Here, where the fierce and warlike forest-men
Gathered, in peace, around the home of PENN,
Awed, by the weapons love alone had given
Drawn from the holy armory of Heaven—
Where Nature's voice against the bondman's wrong
First found an earnest and indignant tongue—
Where Lay's bold message to the proud was borne;
And Keith's rebuke, and Franklin's manly scorn!—
Fitting it is that here, where Freedom first
From her fair feet shook off the old world's dust,
Spread her white pinions to our Western blast,
And her free tresses to our sunshine cast,
One Hall should rise redeemed from Slavery's ban—
One Temple sacred to the Rights of Man!—

O! if the spirits of the parted come,
Visiting angels, to their olden home—
If the dead fathers of the land look forth
From their far dwellings, to the things of earth—
Is it a dream that with their eyes of love,
They gaze now on us from the bowers above?
Lay's ardent soul—and Benezet the mild,
Steadfast in faith, yet gentle as a child—
Meek-hearted Woolman,—and that brother-band,
The sorrowing exiles from their "FATHER LAND,"
Leaving their homes in Krieshiem's bowers of vine,
And the blue beauty of their glorious Rhine,
To seek amidst our solemn depths of wood
Freedom from man, and holy peace with God;
Who first of all their testimonial gave
Against th' oppressor,—for the outcast slave,—
Is it a dream that such as these look down,
And with their blessing our rejoicings crown?

Let us rejoice, that while the Pulpit's door
Is barred against the pleaders for the poor—
While the Church, wrangling upon points of faith,
Forgets her bondmen suffering unto death—
While crafty Traffic and the lust of Gain
Unite to forge Oppression's triple chain,
One door is open—and one Temple free—
A resting-place for hunted Liberty!
Where men may speak, unshackled and unawed,
High words of Truth, for Freedom and for God.

And when that Truth its perfect work hath done,
 And rich with blessings o'er our land hath gone--
 When not a slave beneath his yoke shall pine,
 From broad Potomac to the far Sabine:
 When unto angel-lips at last is given
 The silver trump of Jubilee in Heaven ;
 And from Virginia's plains--Kentucky's shades,
 And through the dim Floridian everglades,
 Rises to meet that angel-trumpet's sound,
 The voice of millions from their chains unbound--
 Then, though this Hall be crumbling in decay,
 Its strong walls blending with the common clay,
 Yet, round the ruins of its strength shall stand
 The best and noblest of a ransomed land--
 Pilgrims, like those who throng around the shrine
 Of Mecca—or of holy Palestine !—

A prouder glory shall that ruin own
 Than that which lingers round the Parthenon.
 Here shall the child of after years be taught
 The work of Freedom which his fathers wrought—
 Told of the trials of the present hour,
 Our weary strife with prejudice and power,—
 How the high errand quickened woman's soul,
 And touched her lip as with the living coal—
 How Freedom's martyrs kept their lofty faith
 True and unwavering, unto bonds and death,—
 The pencil's art shall sketch the ruined Hall,
 The Muses' garland crown its aged wall,
 And History's pen for after times record
 Its consecration unto FREEDOM's GOD !

LEWIS C. GUNN, of Philadelphia, then addressed the audience on the “*Right of Free Discussion*,” in an extemporaneous speech, which he has since written out.

ADDRESS OF LEWIS C. GUNN.

To a foreigner it may seem strange that in this boasted land of liberty it is necessary to speak on the right of free discussion. Accustomed to hear our vaunting of freedom of speech and of the press, of mind and of conscience, this is the last subject which he would expect to hear argued anywhere in the United States, much less in the state of Penn, and in this city of brotherly love. But, strange as it may seem, the churches and public halls of Philadelphia are closed against the advocates of human rights; and, I believe, there is not a building in this city, except the one in which we are now assembled, large enough to accommodate such a meeting as this, which could have been obtained for the advocacy even of that most valuable of all rights—the right of free discussion. The fact can be no longer concealed, that in this land this right is not enjoyed. There are two and a half millions of slaves who are never allowed to speak in their own behalf, or tell the world freely the story of their wrongs. There are also half a million of so called free people of color, who are permitted to speak with

but little more liberty than the slaves. Nor is this all. Even those who stand up in behalf of the down-trodden colored man, however white their skins may be, are slandered, persecuted, mobbed, hunted from city to city, imprisoned, and, as in the case of the lamented Lovejoy, put to death! It is unnecessary here to refer to Amos Dresser, who, for exercising the privilege of a freeman, and acting in behalf of freedom, was publicly whipped in the streets of Nashville. I need not speak of another devoted friend of the oppressed, whose face I see in this assembly, who, some years ago, was immured in a Baltimore prison, and has since been led like a criminal to a jail in Boston, for no other crime than publishing what his conscience and his judgment told him was the truth. Nor need I give a detailed account of the many mobs which have disgraced our country within the last three or four years—mobs collected together and infuriated, because some independent minds and warm hearts had undertaken to canvass the sublime merits of slavery and the dangers “of emancipation.” You are all familiar with the scenes in Congress during its last sessions. You are all familiar with the tragedy at Alton. What, I ask, do these things prove? Do they not clearly show that we do not enjoy the right of free discussion? We may speak without reserve, it is true, on the subject of banks, and on many other political and moral questions; but when slavery is selected as the theme, when it is proposed to discuss the inalienability of human rights, then, forsooth, our lips must be locked and our thoughts imprisoned. Our *right* here is assailed, and it is a stab at the *right* to speak on any and every other subject. What do we mean by the *right* of free discussion? Is it merely the privilege of “saying what the prevailing voice of the brotherhood will allow?” This definition, I know, has been recently given by a popular minister in the enlightened city of Boston;—aye, and the fact shows how corrupt we have become as a people, how we have suffered one of our dearest rights to be almost wrested from us, and have bowed ourselves down before the haughty and tyrannical slaveholder. The right of free discussion is “the privilege to speak and write what the prevailing voice of the brotherhood will allow!” Indeed! Then our boasted right is not a right, but only a privilege—a privilege depending on the “voice of the brotherhood,” who one day may will for us to speak, and the next for us to be dumb,—or this week may command our silence, and the next crowd in throngs to give a listening ear to our discussions. Depending on circumstances, and yet a right? Why, it is a contradiction in terms. If it is depending on circumstances, then it does not inherently belong to us—we have derived no right from our Creator. A privilege is a privilege, and not a right. Now freedom of speech we spurn as a privilege; we demand it as our own, and we shall exercise it, too, in the face of all the mobs which may array themselves in threatening attitude before us. Our right to speak freely the dictates of our minds and consciences is derived from our Creator, and we have no permission to surrender it ourselves, nor has any other man the permission to wrest it from us. Thus you see that abridging our freedom of speech on the subject of slavery, is tantamount to saying that freedom of speech on all subjects is not our *right*, but that we must depend for it upon “the voice of the brotherhood;”—that voice determining on what subjects we may speak, what kind of thoughts we may utter, and the language in which they must be clothed. Here, then, on the question of slavery the battle must be fought. At this part of the citadel the first attack has been made; and here the true friends of the right must rally, and disperse the enemy, before they have forced a passage and taken the castle. For this reason alone it is, that so many, since Lovejoy’s murder, have taken a decided stand in favor of the abolitionists, although opposed to them in

sentiment on the subject of slavery. They have seen the right of free discussion assailed and trampled under foot; and they have discernment enough to perceive that, although silence is now required only on *one* subject, the *right*, in all its length and breadth, is thereby completely destroyed. Next year the “voice of the brotherhood” may demand that all discussion on the banking system be suppressed. Indeed there is no question, political, scientific, or moral, that may not be proscribed by the enlightened “brotherhood.” Those who now remonstrate with the public touching the sin and evils of intemperance, may soon be silenced. The cause of peace may lose its advocates. Nay, subjects now regarded as of vital importance, may, upon a fluctuation in the minds and feelings of “the brotherhood,” be locked up in the tomb of thought until the day of the final resurrection. I repeat it, we must stand by the right where it is first assailed. And let those who now hesitate, or who take their stand in favor of checking free discussion *on the subject of slavery*, keep before their minds the consequences that may, and probably will, ensue.

Are such aware of the importance of this right? Are they aware that it lies at the foundation of all our other rights,—that if *it* is surrendered, we ourselves are slaves, and may be ground beneath the most galling servitude which ever oppressed a human being? Do they not see that if we have no right to speak, we can have none to act; that locking our lips is also fettering our limbs and chaining our faces to the dust? We have no freedom of speech or of the press; how then can we maintain our dignity as men, and preserve our property from the grasp of the despot? Our rulers might ride rough-shod over our dearest interests, and convert our money to their own uses, and there would be none to lift up the voice of warning or rebuke—none to mutter that all was not right; every tongue is still, every press is muzzled. This would be the millenial day of tyranny. Are you prepared for all these dreadful consequences—prepared to see *the people* vassals to a few? If so,

“ Go, buy for the cold corpse of Freedom a shroud,
And bury your hopes in her grave.
Then hushed be the glee of your laborers proud
As, driven with the mule and the ass in the crowd,
They slink to the task of a slave,
With a curse on their lip and a scowl in their eye
As they mope by your tombstones and tauntingly cry,
Ho! here go the sons of the brave.”

Freedom of speech, what is it? The freedom of the immortal mind,—the freedom of the heart! How much more valuable to moral beings than mere freedom of the body, or security of property and life! Take from me my money, my watch, or any thing else that I possess, but leave me the right to rebuke sin wherever it exists, and of obeying the commands of my heavenly Father.

Why should men prevent the exercise of this right? It will merely develope the truth and place it in bold relief before the eyes of all. And is there in this house, or in this city, or in this land, a man who fears the truth? If so, you may depend upon it, he is *conscious* of error in his politics, morals, or religion. Such an one, and only such, has reason to be afraid. *Free discussion elicits truth.* Of this the people of Pennsylvania were fully aware, when, a year ago or more, they called a Convention for the purpose, not of changing the Constitution, but of deliberating upon and fully discussing certain proposed changes; so that the true character and tendency of those changes might be seen by all, and the people could then understandingly vote either for their adoption or rejection. Of so

much importance were these discussions considered, that the state has expended the enormous sum of *three hundred thousand dollars* in sustaining that Convention ; and if they were of so much importance to the state as to justify such an expenditure, how wonderful it is, that some of the very members of that Convention should be in favor of gags, and of a censorship for the pulpit, the forum, and the press. The Convention has been held, propositions have been discussed, and truth has been elicited, though not written down in some of the amendments, or rather deformities, which the Convention has determined to submit to the people. The PEOPLE, in due time, will give their judgment.

Free discussion elicits truth, and yet there are those who are opposed to it!—in other words, there are those who are opposed to the truth, knowing it to be the truth! If there be such an one in this house, let him come forward to this platform, that we all may see the being, and that he may receive the condemnation he so richly deserves.

Strange the fatuity of those who seek to cover up the truth, or oppose its progress! Do they not know that a certain defeat awaits them? It has prevailed over its enemies in days that are past, and it ever will and must prevail. How was it with the gospel? It is needless here to state how rapidly it spread through all the earth; how it triumphed over obstacles the most formidable; how prejudice and error, ambition and the love of gain, gratification of sense, with a legion of other evils, were all subdued, and darkness, Judaism, and heathenism vanished before the glorious light. How was it in the days of the Reformation? Were men more able then to cope with truth, or to arrest its progress? Why were the efforts of priests and rulers unavailing to suppress the views of Galileo, and keep up the belief that the sun and planets, and all the starry host, turn round this little earth? Because they fought against the truth.

And we have witnessed triumphs in our own time, and in our own country—triumphs in spite of persecution, and mighty efforts of mighty men to suppress the truth. Witness the Temperance cause; at one time derided as fanaticism, now popular. Witness also the Peace cause; still ridiculed, but nevertheless making glorious triumphs. Last of all, I would mention the Anti-slavery cause. But a few years ago—in 1832—the largest Anti-slavery society that could be formed upon correct principles, in this country, consisted of only twelve men. These were without worldly wealth or worldly influence; but they have shaken the atrocious system of Slavery to its very foundation. Although assailed with every kind of slander which human malice could devise, they have outridden the fury of the storm, and now see converts multiplied by thousands to their principles. The rich, the wise, the learned, as well as the good, flock to their standard, and glory in being identified with them. Their names, though at first cast out before men, will go down to posterity in grateful remembrance. The Anti-slavery cause is now beginning to be popular in some parts of the country; and soon the difficulty will be, not to gain members to the society, but to prevent the wrong sort of men from joining with us. Ambitious men and politicians, as they see us gaining over village after village, county after county, and state after state, will cast in their lot with us, hoping thereby to be promoted to some lucrative or honorable office. I repeat it, the Anti-slavery cause is destined to become a popular cause; for it has truth and right to buoy it upward and impel it onward.

What man living can disbelieve that, in the exercise of free discussion, error will be exposed and truth elicited?—and what man living disbelieves that the truth is mighty and will prevail? Not one; and, for this reason, slaveholders and errorists of all kinds tremble, when they see independent

men examining their wicked systems. I now tell them, for their consolation, that there is in this country, a noble band of clear-headed, warm-hearted, fearless men, who appreciate the value of free discussion, and are determined to exercise it. This Hall testifies of their character. Seeing the right assailed, they have thrown themselves into the breach, determined that no encroachments shall there be made. They have seen the right first assailed as regards the subject of slavery, and therefore to that point they have directed their attention. That subject above all others, they will henceforth discuss ; and

“ If they have whispered truth,
Whisper no longer,
But speak as the tempest doth,
Sterner and stronger.”

From their purpose they are not to be driven. They have counted the cost, and are not to be affected by threats or by indulgences. They have

“ Prayer-strengthened for the trial come together,
Put on the harness for the moral fight,
And, with the blessing of their heavenly Father,
Will guard the right.”

As this Hall has been dedicated to the right of free discussion, bear with me, for a moment, while I exercise this right, in freely remarking on the measures for the abolition of slavery alluded to by the learned gentleman who yesterday morning addressed the audience in this place. And I speak not my own sentiments only, but the sentiments of, I believe, every anti-slavery society in this country. We go for no gradual emancipation such as that gentleman described. We believe that slavery is a heinous *sin*, and that being sinful, it ought to be immediately repented of, and immediately abandoned. It is the duty of every slaveholder to do this now, and it will continue to be his duty until he has performed it.—Immediate abolition does not consist in merely beginning to act immediately, or in fixing a *certain* date at which slavery shall die ; it contemplates no delay of twenty or fifty years, as we were told, no, nor of a single day. As regards fearful consequences, none would ensue to the country, to the masters, or the slaves, from striking off every chain at this very moment. We hold that no preparatory education is necessary before emancipation. In giving man inalienable rights, the God who made him, gave him all that knowledge of his duty which was necessary for the exercise of those rights. Laws, also, to *ameliorate* slavery we have no more fellowship with than with laws to *ameliorate* high-way robbery or murder. A complete and immediate termination of the outrage is, and nothing short of this could be, demanded by us. Break the chain, and remove the yoke, and make those chattels men, and then educate them—that is the way to *ameliorate* their condition. First, “ cease to do evil, and [then] learn to do well.” This we will press upon the slaveholder until he yields ; and, in so doing, we feel called upon to oppose every thing which will have a tendency to soothe his conscience. No scheme of colonization, either to Africa, to Haiti, or to any distant place in our own country, is called for, or expedient ; but, on the contrary, it would be absolutely injurious to the South, in withdrawing her laborers—to the slaves, in removing them from the influence of civilized, enlightened, and pious men—and to the slaveholders, in leading them to believe “ there is a lion in the way.” We, therefore, oppose every such scheme, and every thing that recognises, even indirectly, either the danger or inexpediency of the full and immediate emancipation of every bondman. Not a day, not an hour longer would we see the image of God defaced, and hear the cries of the wronged. We would

see every man, from this time forward, walking forth, not as a slave, with fear and trembling, but erect as he was made, with his face heavenward, and his countenance beaming forth the happiness of freedom, and reminding us of Him, in whose image, it is said, man was created.

It would give me pleasure to dwell longer on this subject, but health forbids. My friends have advised me to be short, and I feel that their advice was prudent.

CHARLES C. BURLEIGH was then introduced to the audience, whom he addressed for some time, in a very animated and eloquent manner, on the subject of "*Indian wrongs*." It is a great matter of regret that stenographers were not secured to take down the remarks of those who spoke extempore. Of the speech on Indian wrongs but very imperfect notes were taken, and the speaker was unable, after the destruction of the Hall, to call to mind what he had said. The notice, however, which was taken of this performance by two newspapers of this city, both known not to be abolition papers, shows that it was worthy of the speaker, and worthy of the place; moreover, that no occasion was given by it for the destruction of the Hall. The Inquirer and Courier, a daily paper, in giving an account of the proceedings, says, "Mr. C. C. Burleigh, also, developed the subject of Indian wrongs with great ability." The Saturday Evening Post, a weekly paper, says: "Various interesting communications were made on the succeeding days, among which we notice a poetical dedication by J. G. Whittier, and an eloquent and powerful address on the subject of Indian oppression, by C. C. Burleigh."

From the scanty notes which were taken, a short sketch of the topics dwelt on by the speaker, has been prepared.

S P E E C H O F C. C. B U R L E I G H.

He commenced by alluding to the propriety of discussing the wrongs of the Indians in that building. It was a Hall dedicated to the rights of man; not only of the slave, but also of the red man,—of all that are oppressed.

He said, that, if he were ever disposed to apologize to a public audience, he might on the present occasion plead want of strength; but what strength he had, he would give to the red man—he was as ready to plead his cause as that of the slave. What claims, he said, has the Indian upon our sympathy! He then spoke of the fewness of those who stand up in his behalf, while treaties are violated, and compulsory measures are used to drive him from his home and from the graves of his fathers. He prays the white man to delay the execution, as the tribes are fast wasting away, and soon they will die. Let us die where we have lived, say they, which will be ere long; and then our possessions shall be yours, without incurring the guilt of wresting them away by fraud or violence.*

After having held up to the view of the audience the injustice of our conduct towards the Indians, and of the conduct of our fathers, through the

* The celebrated Indian orator, RED JACKET, at his last visit to Philadelphia, made a very eloquent address to the citizens, and after having feelingly described the insatiable desire manifested by the White People to obtain the Indian's Lands, paused, and in the most touching manner said:

"And now, Brethren, let me kneel down, and beseech you to wait yet a little while longer, and we shall all be *dead*!—you can then have the Indians' lands *for nothing*—there will be nobody here to dispute it with you!"

representatives of the nation,—the outrages which have been endured, and the wasting of tribe after tribe, until of the multitudes who once peopled our forests, or rather of their descendants, but a very small remnant now remains, he alluded to the old men—the aged hemlocks among whose limbs the winds of many winters had whistled—the chiefs of the tribes. They stretch out their hands to us in supplication for a delay of their removal. Shall those hands, now trembling in dissolution, be stretched in vain? Shall I ask you to listen only to the story of their wrongs, and not to act?

After a powerful appeal to the audience to do all they had it in their power to do, the orator continued: We may go on growing in strength, and pride, and oppression, until the last red man has ceased to tread our soil, and the last vestige of the aborigines of this country has disappeared; but a day of retribution is coming. Let us remember the account that we will be obliged to render. Blood crieth. We now see the Indians weak, and feel that ourselves are strong,—and therefore, disbelieve that any reverse may take place in our condition. We suppose it impossible that we shall be placed in their stead, and they become the executioners of Divine vengeance. But He who regardeth the oppressed has ways and means at his command wherewith to punish the oppressor. I am appealing, however, more to your fear and selfishness, than to your justice and humanity. Such appeals are unworthy of those who are prepared to listen to appeals on better grounds. In the name of justice and humanity, then, lift up your voices against the cruel banishment which is now contemplated, and speak fearlessly and unequivocally, so that our legislators will hear, and understand, and not dare to disobey.

Gratitude alone should unite us as one man in behalf of this people. Where would our republics have been, if they had not been cherished by the Indians?—if the red man had exhibited toward our nation in its infancy, the same exterminating spirit which we now manifest toward him.

While travelling, lately, in a foreign land, I often saw in its wild forests, trees of a peculiar form, holding within the coils of their strangely twisted trunks, small fragments of decaying wood. These, a near examination discovered to be the relics of some former forest-giant, around which a feeble vine had wound itself, and, clinging to it for support, had increased in magnitude, till, towering above the topmost bough of its supporter, it had itself become a tall, thick tree, standing on the spot where its predecessor had perished in its fatal embrace. As I looked, I could not repress the sad thought—this is but too faithful an emblem of our own proud republic, in her treatment of the native tribes.

Whole nations have been destroyed—none remaining even to be looked at as specimens of what they were. Where are the warriors who shouted, in their war-song, the fear-inspiring name of Sassacus?—where they who rushed to the deadly strife, when the battle-cry of Metacomet broke on the midnight silence of Montauk?—where the brave followers of Miantonomo and Canonicus?—where the wiley men of Uncas? The Pequod fort went down in blood and ashes; the people of Philip have been scattered and destroyed; the name of the Narraganset lives but in the appellation of that lovely bay, whose waters his canoe once ploughed; the “*last of the Mohegans*” has long been familiarly known as the title of a popular novel; and even the kindness of Pocahontas could not avert the ruin of her tribe.

He then alluded to our disregard of treaties with the Indians, and after showing how our plighted faith had been broken, he asked: What can we expect from other nations, save the same fraud which we ourselves have practised—the same injustice which we have measured out to them?

The speaker then stated that he had in his hand a letter from JOHN Ross,

principal chief of the Cherokee nation, which he would hand to the Secretary to be read.

The letter was then read as follows :

WASHINGTON, May 3d, 1838.

Gentlemen : I owe you an explanation for having so long delayed to answer your kind letter of the 19th of last month. Believe me, your invitation touched me deeply ; it is another evidence of the sympathy of the descendants of William Penn, with the wronged red man, of which Pennsylvania has so often, and especially of late, afforded us testimonials, that we should be ungrateful, indeed, if we could ever forget. I omitted to reply to it, only because I was waiting to ascertain whether there might not be a hope that our affairs would be in such a position at the time you mention, as to render it possible for me to visit Philadelphia on the day indicated. But, I lament to say, that nearly every probability of an event so desirable, is now extint. The twenty-third of May is the fatal day decreed for the removal of our people by the armed power of the United States. As this will come within a week of the day you appoint, I need not add that, even were it not my duty to remain here, eagerly watching for every chance of averting or mitigating the storm, not knowing what a moment may bring forth ; even were not this my duty, I could scarcely, perhaps, feel myself in a state of mind to go before the public with a story of sorrows so often told, and from which I should be more conscious then, than at any previous time, that possibility of rescue was gone forever. If, however, I can find time to make you a written communication, I will carry in it an explanation, somewhat fuller, and which may better satisfy your assembly. I do not know that any of our delegation may have it in their power to charge themselves with my letter, but if it can be so arranged, I shall consider that mark of respect the least return you can receive for your good will towards the Cherokees, from,

Gentlemen, your most obliged,

and faithful humble servant,

JOHN ROSS.

To Messrs. Samuel Webb and Jos. M. Truman—Committee.

C. C. BURLEIGH again rose and urged, as another consideration which should enlist us in the red man's behalf, the gratitude, as evinced in the letter just read, with which he requites even the slightest exhibition of kindness toward him, however far short it falls of the payment of his just dues.

He concluded by exhorting the audience—not to merit the character of deliverers of the Cherokee from banishment, for that he feared they could not do ; the fierce spirit of avarice and dominion had been suffered to reign too long and go too far for that—but to do all they could *towards* meriting that character ; so that when the last Indian shall have been driven to the very shore of the Pacific, and the wave shall have washed out the trace of his last footprint, you may be able to say, my hand did it not—my heart had no sympathy with the cruel work—my voice was lifted in remonstrance against it.

Here it was intended by the Managers of the Hall, that the exercises for the morning should have closed ; but ALVAN STEWART, of Utica, rose, and requested leave to say a few words about the Seminoles. He then proceeded to describe the character of that tribe—their number—the number slain in the late war—the mean and cruel means adopted to overcome them ; and also, entered into some details with regard to the origin of the war. He traced it all to slavery—the desire which the slaveholders feel that the poor slaves may have no city of refuge—no friends near them to whom they may escape from their masters. He told of a large number of runaway slaves that were harbored by the Seminoles and other Indians.

WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON, who was sitting in the back part of the gallery as a spectator, was then loudly called for from all parts of the house. Finding the audience would not be satisfied, he stepped to the front part of the gallery, and, in a modest and respectful manner, requested to be excused from speaking on account of the state of his health. To this reasonable request the audience did not consent.

REMARKS OF W. L. GARRISON.

I have, then, Mr. Chairman, but a very few words to offer. Happily, there are many individuals present, comparatively new volunteers in our sacred cause, who are far better qualified to address this meeting than myself. It is a homely adage, that a new broom sweeps clean. Having been so long in use, I am little better than an old scrub. Bring your new brooms on the platform, and the work will be much better done.

Sir, I have observed with regret, since the opening of this Hall, that not a single colored brother has occupied a seat upon your platform. Why is this? It cannot be because there is no one present, who, on the score of intellectual and moral worth, is entitled to such respectful treatment. Is it, then, the result of accident or design? I fear this exclusion may be traced to a wicked prejudice, or to a fear of giving public offence. It ill becomes us to rebuke others for cherishing the hateful spirit of caste, if we are disposed to give it any quarter.

Another remark I may be permitted to make. It has appeared to me, as well as to others, that there is a squeamishness with regard to coming out boldly in favor of the doctrine of *immediate* emancipation, and letting the public understand, distinctly, the object of our assembling together. The advertisements of the meetings which I have seen in the newspapers, are very indefinite on this point. As the name of Orange Scott has been announced in the papers, and from this platform, as one of the speakers for this evening, and as the subject of his address has not been announced, and as I think it no more than right that we should know what it is, I take the liberty of inquiring, whether it relates to agriculture, to astronomy, to temperance, or to slavery?

[ORANGE SCOTT hereupon rose, and said, “he did not know, in view of all the circumstances of the case, that he should speak at all that evening; the probability was, that he should not. But if he did, it should be upon *American Slavery*—its sinfulness and pernicious tendency. He thought this was known to the Managers, and he wondered that the subject had not been announced.”]

A female here rose, (a member of the society of Friends,) under one of the galleries, and stated that it was “the request of the ladies, that William Lloyd Garrison should come on the platform, and there deliver what he might have to say, as many felt anxious to see the man for whose head the South had offered thousands of dollars.” With this request he complied, amid the loud applause of the audience, and spoke as follows:]

Mr. Chairman, it is certainly true, that I am an object of public curiosity, scarcely rivalled by any show extant—an object full of apprehension to many, and of inquisitiveness to more. Indeed, some of my anti-slavery friends have *gravely* suggested the “expediency” of putting me into a strong cage—“with my own consent,” of course, and carrying me about the country as a rare monster, to be seen at certain hours, at so much a sight for adults—children half price; the proceeds, after deducting the expense of keepers, and of furnishing food and straw for me, to be thrown into the treasury of the American Anti-Slavery Society! [Much laughter.] I desire, sir, to be as serviceable to the cause in which we are engaged as possible; but there are two or three good reasons, why I cannot accept of the novel and productive proposition of my friends. The first is, that, as an abolitionist, I can have nothing to do with modern “expediency.” The

second is, that my grand design is to deliver the millions who are now encaged in our land, and I am not willing, therefore, to get into a cage myself. My last reason is, that as I am in favor of immediate, unconditional, and universal emancipation, it is not to be supposed that I am willing to be made an exception, and to lose my own liberty. But, to be serious.

[The speaker then referred to the affecting and eloquent detail of Indian wrongs to which the audience had just listened, from the lips of C. C. Burleigh, and asked :]

Why are the Cherokees to be banished from their homes? Our brother has omitted the why and wherefore. Alas, sir, his thrilling appeals in their behalf come too late—not too late, however, to soften our hearts, to mantle our cheeks with the blushes of shame as Americans, or to fire our souls with holy indignation as Christians and philanthropists—but too late to save them from banishment, perhaps from utter extermination. The demon of slavery is the author of this forceful expulsion, because he demands their lands upon which to erect new shambles for the sale of human flesh and immortal souls, and to ply the lash upon the back of unrequited toil, and to extend his bloody dominions. There can be no protection given to the Indians, until slavery is abolished; and its abolition can alone preserve them, even as a remnant. To the work, then, before us, with new zeal and spirit!

This hall, Mr. Chairman, needs a new dedication. The eloquent gentleman who yesterday stood as the priest at the altar, and performed solemn dedicatory services, exhibited the goddess of Liberty in all her beauty and attraction; but just as every eye was kindling with a radiant flame, and every heart was leaping exultingly, and every knee bent in homage, he then—amazing infatuation!—seized the dagger of expediency, and plunged it to her heart! For one, I wondered and shuddered at the unnatural deed. The orator considered it blasphemy to say that slavery was right, and in accordance with the scriptures; and yet in the very next breath, he talked about legislating for its *future* overthrow, and declared that he was opposed to its immediate abolition! Sir, if there be a neck to that discourse, I would say, let a stone be tied around it, and let it be sunk in the depths of the sea.

It gives me pain, sir, to make these remarks; the speech was, at least the greater part of it, an admirable speech. It handled the subject in a masterly and eloquent manner. But the latter part of it neutralized all the good that had been said; it contained poison enough to kill all the colored men on earth. All that the slave-holders require to enable them to hold their slaves in interminable bondage, was to be found in that speech. For what more do they want, than an admission that *immediate* and *unconditional* emancipation is not due to every one of their slaves, and that the withholding of liberty from them, *for a moment*, is not robbery? Sir, that gentleman talked of freeing the children as they arrived at a certain age, and leaving the parents in slavery—at least, until they can be educated and prepared for freedom! Is this the dictate of humanity or religion? No, sir. It deserves our unmixed abhorrence, as unnatural and monstrous. Sir, this hall must surely be rebaptized. Let us, during the meetings of this week, wash out this stain of reproach.

I know, indeed, that some will consider the remarks of that gentleman as adapted to please all parties—to allay, in some measure, the prejudice that prevails against us and our holy cause. These are your men of ‘caution’ and ‘prudence,’ and ‘judiciousness.’ Sir, I have learned to hate those words. Whenever we attempt to imitate our great Exemplar, and press the truth of God, in

all its plainness, upon the conscience, why, we are very imprudent; because, forsooth, a great excitement will ensue. Sir, slavery will not be overthrown without excitement, a most tremendous excitement. And let me say, there is too much quietude in this city. It shows that the upholders of this wicked system have not yet felt that their favorite sin has been much endangered. You need, and must have, a moral earthquake, to startle, if it were possible, even the dead who are slumbering in their graves. This sluggish state of the public mind betokens no moral reformation. The more stagnant the waters, the mightier must be the hurricane to give salubrity to the atmosphere, and health to the people. Your cause will not prosper here—the philosophy of reform forbids you to expect it—until it excites popular tumult, and brings down upon it a shower of brickbats and rotten eggs, and is threatened with a coat of tar and feathers. How was it in New-England, as the truth began to affect the consciences of the people? Why, sir, that whole section of country was rocked to its very centre, and violence was every where awakened towards the active friends of the helpless and bleeding slave. Then, sir, our cause began to make swift progress, like that Christianity of which it is a part, in apostolic and martyr times. So it must be with you here, as a matter of dire and unavoidable necessity; because it is not to be supposed that the jacobinical spirit of slavery, and the atrocious spirit of prejudice, are less prevalent here than they were in distant New-England.

One more remark I would make. There is too much colonization here. I see handbills posted about the city, advertising that there will be a debate in this place, next week, on the subject of colonization. Can it be possible that any man at this day will have the audacity to come forward, publicly, as an advocate for that wicked scheme? [“I am that man,” exclaimed Doctor Sleigh, who was one of the audience.] Then I blush for that man! I blush for him as a man, a Christian! [“He is not an American,” exclaimed a colored man.]—It looks well, indeed, for a foreign adventurer to come here, and join a band of haughty and tyrannical conspirators, in banishing one-sixth part of our own fellow citizens to an uncivilized and pestilential coast. Sir, let every advocate of the colonization society, who maintains the propriety or duty of transporting our colored countrymen to Africa, on account of their complexion, be regarded as an enemy to his species and a libeller of God.”

W. W. SLEIGH then rose, and asked permission to make a few remarks, which was granted, and he was invited upon the platform. In reply to a note requesting from him a copy of his remarks for publication, the following communication was received. Although, in chronological order, it does not *all* belong *here*, we still publish it in this place, entire, as this is the particular wish of the author.

285 RACE STREET, May 31st, 1838.

To Samuel Webb, Esq.

Sir—In compliance with your request, I herewith send you a statement of all I said in your late Hall, and what gave rise to the same.

Believe me yours very sincerely,

W. W. SLEIGH.

Having, out of curiosity, visited the late “Pennsylvania Hall,” on Tuesday, May 15th, 1838, and having heard one of the speakers, whom I was informed was Mr. William Lloyd Garrison, observe that “he wondered any

man at the present day would have the audacity to come forward and advocate colonization, and particularly a "*foreign adventurer!*" I immediately, audibly, and emphatically, said, "*I AM THAT MAN!*" Mr. Garrison then continued, "*I blush for that man—that foreigner—who dares come to America to send Americans from their homes,*" &c. &c. When this gentleman had terminated his speech, I requested to be heard in my own vindication, upon which I was invited to take my stand on the platform, when I spoke to the following effect :

Ladies and Gentlemen—I would be the last man to interrupt the proceedings of any assembly, and particularly so large a one as this, met for the purpose of advocating the principles of liberty, and the cause of the colored man ; but having been personally alluded to by the speaker who has just sat down, and by him denounced as a *foreign adventurer* come to America to turn Americans out of their own land, I felt it my duty to solicit the privilege which you have now courteously granted me, of saying a few words vindictory of myself.—*Ladies and Gentlemen*, I am not an enemy to liberty—I am not an enemy to the colored man ; I am an advocate of the one, and the friend of the other :—and it little became the speaker to cast in my face that I was a "*foreign adventurer*," and, much less, so to misrepresent my actions as to say I wanted to turn or transport Americans from their own land ! When he visited England, his having been a foreigner was not thrown in his face. True, I am from England, where

"Slaves cannot breathe——!
If their lungs inhale our air, that moment they are free;
They touch our country and their shackles fall!"*

But what could I expect from one who did not spare his own countryman—the tried and unremunerated friend of the black, DAVID PAUL BROWN, Esq.; but heaped upon that talented gentleman unlimited abuse!—or from a man who has just told you, "*he hates CAUTION, PRUDENCE, and JUDICIOUSNESS !*" I thank you, *Ladies and Gentlemen*, for your kindness in hearing me.

The next day I addressed the following letter to the chairman of the meeting in the Hall, the contents of which will sufficiently explain the reasons which led to my so doing.

285 RACE STREET, May 15th, 1838.

To the Chairman of the Meeting in "Pennsylvania Hall."

Sir—Having been yesterday (through your courtesy) on the platform, when a notice was read, offering your Hall for discussion this day on the subject of colonization, and as such was evidently directed to me, I feel it my duty, most respectfully, to enter *my protest* (as an advocate for colonization) against any of its friends sanctioning, by their voice, any such *hasty, cursory, partial*, and indefinite investigation as this proposes to be, on a subject of such *importance*. Moreover, I am convinced that it is only by such inadequate measures, that abolitionism can be, for a moment, sustained : and were I to consent, thus abruptly, to enter upon its discussion, without *order*—without *regulations*—without *system*—without admitted evidence, and without knowing whom I would have the honor of debating with, I would be acting in that very way which I consider has hitherto tended much to the delusion of the public. The misrepresentation of colonization, and the promotion of erroneous and destructive views on the question of slavery—besides the absence of my friend, Mr. Elliott Cresson, who has kindly offered to furnish me with such *documentary* evidence as is in-

* He also said something about having "*exiled*" himself from England, his native country, and coming to America. The precise language used, we do not remember.

dispensably necessary for a *full, free, just, and impartial* discussion of so momentous a subject, renders it impossible for me, with justice to the cause, to enter upon it, till his return, which will not be till the end of this week. But on Monday evening next, (God willing) I will be fully prepared to meet not only the great and old champion of abolitionism, *Arnold Buffum*, but as many more *champions* thereof as think proper to enter the lists, when I pledge myself to prove that *ABOLITIONISM is destructive to the real interests of the slave—to the welfare and existence of the Union—and contrary to the express commands of God.*

Finally, I beg it may be distinctly understood, that I am not the *paid agent* of the Colonization, or of any other society, and that I will as *cheerfully* advocate the cause of abolitionism, as I now do that of colonization, when once my error be made manifest.

I have the honor to be, sir,
Your very obedient servant,

W. W. SLEIGH.

In the evening of the next day (Wednesday) while I was *at church*, one of my sons came running to me, stating that several gentlemen had requested him to come off and inform me that Mr. Garrison was abusing me before a crowded assembly in Pennsylvania Hall—upon which I immediately went there, (about half past 8 o'clock, P. M.,) and entering the building by one of the side doors, I met several of my friends, Dr. Anderson, Dr. Gebhart, Mr. Mann, and some others, saying that Garrison had been disgracefully abusing me and Mr. Elliott Cresson, and said as much as if we had both run off from England—“left your country for your country’s good,” &c. &c.—upon which I instantly, *once*, and *only once*, audibly demanded a hearing. The noise in the Hall, produced by some stones thrown at that moment against the windows, prevented my hearing whether any reply was, or was not, made to my request: * and being unable to get access up to the platform to request *privately* from the chairman, the privilege of defending myself, I left the building.—Lastly, as I have been informed that some persons have circulated a report that I addressed the mob, *outside the Hall*, on that evening—I assure you that I did not utter one word *outside* the building, but walked home with the gentlemen just alluded to. Moreover, so far from my entertaining any unfriendly or unfavorable opinion of the great body of abolitionists at large, (as my pamphlet on the subject “*ABOLITIONISM EXPOSED*,” this day published, fully shows,) I consider them (however much I differ from them in opinion) a worthy, but deceived body.

W. W. SLEIGH.

REJOINDER OF W. L. GARRISON.

WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON again rose, and said :

I would be the last man in the world to reproach another with being a foreigner—I consider this as no ground for unkind treatment, or for remarks which might wound the feelings. Nor would I, on the present occasion, have alluded to the fact of that gentleman being a foreigner, if he himself had not volunteered his services as an advocate for an expatriating scheme. It did seem to me peculiarly improper, and indisputably outrageous, that an individual should come here from a foreign land, to enjoy rights and privi-

* The President of the meeting did not hear Dr. Sleigh make that, or any other request, nor did he know Dr. Sleigh was in the Hall that evening.

leges which belong to no other people on the face of the globe, and advocate the exiling of native born Americans ! It was in this light I spoke of him as a foreigner,—and now cry shame upon him. As regards my hatred of “caution,” “prudence,” and “judiciousness,” I must say, that either the gentleman cannot understand irony, or that I am very unfortunate in the use of it. I have a high regard for *gospel* caution, *gospel* prudence, and *gospel* judiciousness ; for they consist in TELLING THE TRUTH, plainly and fearlessly, “ whether men will hear, or whether they will forbear ;” but so the words are not understood by a time-serving and man-pleasing generation. It is *colonization* caution, *colonization* prudence, and *colonization* judiciousness which I hate—that *time-serving* caution and prudence so common in the colonization ranks, is what my soul loathes.

THE discussion was continued by CHARLES C. BURLEIGH, who dwelt on the inconsistency between the sentiments of the former and latter parts of David Paul Brown’s oration, and endeavored to prove that the tendency of the latter was dangerous to the cause of human rights—that it was a surrender of fundamental principles. He was followed by ALVAN STEWART, who, in a clear and eloquent manner, showed the character and tendency of the colonization scheme. But as notes were not taken, we are unable to furnish a report of what was said by either of the speakers.

SAMUEL WEBB then rose and stated that, “ as there appeared to be a diversity of opinion in regard to the best mode of abolishing slavery, he was authorized by the Managers of the Hall (who had just conferred together) to say, that there would be a discussion in that place on the ensuing morning, when all who chose to participate might have an opportunity of explaining their views, whether in favor or against *immediate* or *gradual* abolition, *colonization*, or *even slavery itself!*”

This annunciation was received with great approbation by the audience. The meeting then adjourned, till afternoon, when the Lyceum again occupied the Hall with essays and discussions on scientific subjects, which they prefer not to have published. (See *Afternoon Session of the first day.*)

SECOND DAY—EVENING SESSION.

AT the hour for meeting the saloon was crowded. The speakers for the evening were **GEORGE FORD, jr.**, of Lancaster, Pa., **ALVAN STEWART**, of Utica, N. Y., and **ALANSON ST. CLAIR**, of Massachusetts. The first speaker was unable to write out his remarks in full, and has, therefore, sent us the following sketch:

LANCASTER, June 30th, 1838.

The subject of my discourse before the “President, Directors, and Stockholders of the Pennsylvania Hall Association,” was the right of free discussion, the freedom of opinion, and the necessity of a strict observance, on the part of the people, of “the Supremacy of the Laws.” In contending for the free exercise of the right of opinion on the part of every man, I maintained, that its freedom lays not in the mere simple enjoyment of the right of thinking; because that right, I stated, could be and was enjoyed under the Inquisition of Spain; but its exercise consisted in its free and unrestrained expression, either by word of mouth, or through the medium of the press. In support of this position I quoted the Constitution of this state, which declares, in express terms, that “the free communication of thoughts and opinions is one of the invaluable rights of man; and every citizen may freely speak, write, and print on any subject, being responsible for the abuse of that liberty.” Nor did I rest here; the Constitution of the United States, it was next shown, having the same just regard for the rights of the people, very wisely provides, that “Congress shall make no law respecting the establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof, or abridging the freedom of speech, or of the press, or the right of the people peaceably to assemble and petition the government for a redress of grievances.” And I illustrated my positions, by showing, also, that it was for the maintenance of these principles, and for the securing of these rights, that our fathers fought and bled; that it was for the free exercise of their opinions, that they separated themselves from the mother country, and underwent the toils and hardships of many a rigorous campaign; that they did all these things and even more to purchase that liberty which we now enjoy, and which they gave to us as a rich legacy, but which I feared, if the reign of mob law is to commence and predominate as the rule of action among our citizens, we shall not in turn transmit to those who shall come after us, pure and uncorrupted.

In enlarging upon the latter division of my discourse, (namely, the necessity of an observance, on the part of the people, of the majesty or “supremacy of the Laws,”) I took occasion to advert to those gross violations of the constitutional rights of their fellow citizens, on the part of the Boston mob, in the destruction of the convent at Charlestown, Massachusetts; the outrages committed by the mobs at Baltimore, and which had gained for that city the unenviable appellation of “Mob Town;” the injuries inflicted upon private and unoffending individuals in the cities of Washington and Charlestown; and the high-handed usurpation of power on the part of “respectable planters” and “exemplary citizens,” at Vicksburg, in 1835, in executing such worthless vagabonds as those five gamblers were represented to be, who were basely murdered, without the constitutional right of trial by jury, and of being heard in their own defence; from these and many other instances, I proceeded to show that a resort to brute force had become so

common of late, as to be the ordinary remedy, and the ready resort, even of men who could no longer combat opinions, even though erroneous, with counter-opinions, though correct. Here the case of the Rev. Elijah P. Lovejoy, in the state of Illinois, was instanced, and, in my comments upon this particular portion of my subject, I traced these popular outbreaks back, as I supposed, to their source, for the last ten or twelve years, and then proceeded to show, that, unless an example was set by virtuous men and good citizens, to yield a hearty obedience to the laws, it would be in vain for us to look forward to the day when they should be supreme, and the rights of every man be secure. The abduction of Captain William Morgan, in western New York, in the year 1826, was next adduced as one among, if not the very first instance of, those unwarrantable usurpations of power on the part of the party injured, or pretending to be so, of the right to redress his own wrongs and execute his own illegal sentences. For it was a recognition on the part of "*respectable men*" of a "power which is above the laws"—but which I will never admit—whose limits are undefined, and which cannot be ascertained by any tribunal known to the institutions of our country. From this latter case I drew my deductions ; and then went on to prove that one of the principal results of this intolerant spirit against the freedom of thought, of action, of the press, and the unrestrained exercise of the powers of speech, which has been manifested so strongly from time to time, by mobs and others,—served more effectually than aught else, to attach importance to, and build up, the very cause or doctrine which it sought to repress. Such, I observed, had been the case with Christianity under the persecutions of the Emperors of Rome, with the Reformation at a subsequent period ; and, in a political point of view, similar results had attended the propagation of the principles of anti-masonry in Pennsylvania. Persecution, therefore, I continued, might serve as a stimulant to build up rather than allay or counteract the exertions now making by some men in the propagation of anti-slavery principles.

Under view of all these circumstances, then, I continued, it became the bounden duty of all men, to support each other in the exercise of their natural and constitutional rights ; for if a violation of them is sanctioned one day in one man, it may become the fortune of the individual inflicting the injury, to become himself the victim upon whom the vengeance of the mob may be wreaked to-morrow. "Error of opinion" said I, in the language of Jefferson, "may be safely tolerated, when reason is left free to combat it;" and so it should be with abolitionists, so long as they are peaceable in their deportment and are guilty of no violation of the laws of the land. "For he that will not reason is a bigot, he that cannot reason is a fool, and he that dares not reason is a slave."

My peroration, as near as I can recollect, was to this effect : That in the maintenance of their constitutional rights, I trusted the freemen of Pennsylvania would ever be united, and remain true to themselves, their God, and their country—that they would never "basely bow the knee" to any set of men who would not take them by the hand, and recognise them as their peers and equals ; for, as I stated, they were, in the language of the poet,

—“Men who their duties know,
But know their rights, and knowing, dare maintain :”—

and therefore, fondly trusted, that the voice which proclaimed this sentiment to the world would be heard throughout the whole extent of our country, and be re-echoed back by every hill and dale, so that here at least, in the free land of Penn, hearts might be found, which, beating high with a holy

and ardent love of country, would proudly vindicate and maintain their own rights, even when others would be found ready with craven spirits, tamely to surrender them up to the arrogant demands of those who are strangers alike to our wants, our feelings, and our country.

Very respectfully, yours, &c.

GEORGE FORD, Jr.

SPEECH OF ALVAN STEWART, OF UTICA, N. Y.

(ON A RESOLUTION RELATIVE TO THE RIGHT OF PETITION.)

The House of Representatives of the Congress of the United States, a body created by the breath of the nostrils of the freemen of this nation, by a palpable violation of the Constitution, has denied the right of petition; and if there is merit in having been the first body of men clothed with high legislative power who in this world have exercised it by refusing to hear the petitions of their constituents, then the House of Representatives stands alone in its glory, pre-eminent, without rival—treading a path which Egyptian Pharaoh, and Russian Nicholas, and the turbaned Sultan, have never ventured upon. What was the prayer of these denied petitioners? They asked the abolition of slavery—AMERICAN, REPUBLICAN SLAVERY!

“Hear, O Heavens! and be astonished, O Earth!”—the representative of yesterday denies the right of his constituent of to-day to ask him to give liberty to the bondmen, denies the constituent the right of having his petition so much as read in the presence of their high mightinesses! The future historian of this land, when truth shall have triumphed over delusion, when the sober dictates of humanity shall have conquered the dark spirit of slaveholding fanaticism, when quadri-ennial President-making shall not be a draft on the heart’s blood of our expiring liberties,—astonishment shall make him drop his pen to weep over the degeneracy of his boasting ancestors, till the love of his country’s fame shall make him doubt these dreadful scenes in the narrative of the 20th and 21st of December, 1837. He will visit the city bearing the name honored by the father of his country, and turning over volume after volume of ancient Congressional records, shall sigh in the search of the liberty-murdering Congress of December, 1837; till at last he finds on that ill-fated 21st of December, 1837, that Mr. Patton of Virginia asked the previous question to be put for the adoption of a resolution by which “all petitions on the subject of slavery to that House should lie upon its table *unread, unprinted, unREFERRED, undebated, and unconsidered*;”—and that it passed one hundred and twenty for, and seventy-four against it. “Ah!” says the future Tacitus of this land, as he muses over these dark and man-dishonoring pages,—“What is here? The ‘previous question,’—the tyrant’s gag!—the petitions on slavery ‘*unread, unprinted, unREFERRED, undebated, and unconsidered*.’ Oh! what a rent hath slavery made in the Constitution’s robe! On the shortest day of the year—of least light—of most darkness—the deed has been done by slaveholders and their wretched apologists. Oh, the 21st of December, 1837! why must that day rob my country of its glory, its good name—and steep it in infamy? Let the 21st of December, 1837, perish from my country’s calendar. Let that day be darkness, for ever after. Let not God regard it from above, neither let the light shine upon it. Let darkness and the shadow of death stain it;—let a cloud dwell upon it; let the blackness of the day terrify it; let it not be joined unto the days of the year; let it not

come into the number of the months. Let the night be solitary, and no joyful voice come therein. Let them curse it, that curse the day, who are ready to raise up their mourning. Let the stars of the twilight thereof be dark. Let it look for light, but have none; neither let it see the dawning of the day."

But as he turns with mournful steps from this painful soliloquy, he goes to a room thirty by twenty, and twelve feet high, and beholds the mighty mausoleum of the embalmed remains of the Great Unread, the Great Unprinted, the Great Unreferred, the Great Unconsidered,—the dead corpse of a nation's right of petition, laid out in solemn state in the wing of the Capitol! There is a Library of two millions of authors on one subject,—the unread Library of a nation's humanity! Behold the manuscripts, three times the number of the Alexandrian Library. There lies the collected majesty of entombed Philanthropy. Yes, to this pile of recorded glory, those who wish in coming generations to rank high for the nobility of their descent, will send the faithful examiner to see if their ancestor did not sign these unread petitions to Congress, on their father's or mother's, grandfather's or grandmother's, or great grandfather's or great grandmother's side. And if they did, the man who searches for ancestral merit by which to raise his own, will believe it a happy day for him when he shall find the name of the progenitors of his race written on these unread and unprinted petitions to Congress for the abolition of slavery in the 34th, 35th, 36th, 37th, and 38th years of the nineteenth century.

The right of petition is as old as human want. It is the language of the child to the parent. His every want, his every necessity, appeals to the parent by way of petition. His every gratified desire is but the fruit of some granted petition. The pupil in the school, the scholar in the university, comes to his superior every day with petitions. The schoolmaster, the trustees of a school, or the inspectors of schools, or the commissioners of schools,—the commissioners of highways, and the path-master, have their petitioners. The overseers of the poor, the keepers of the county poor-house, have their petitioners. The commissioners of excise, who grant *rum-diplomas*,—the supervisor, town-clerk, and justices are petitioned. Town meetings are petitioned. The board of supervisors sit weeks in their counties listening to and deciding petitions. The justice courts, the common pleas, the supreme courts, and chancery, are thronged with petitioners. The governors of states, and the president of the United States, overwhelmed, as they are, with petitions, have they ever dared, as well as the subordinate bodies referred to, to lay petitions presented to them on their tables, unread and unconsidered? No. Legislatures in twenty-six states, sitting, on an average, three months in the year, or about one-fourth of the time—the immediate representatives of the people sit for the express purpose of deciding upon the petitions presented to them by the people. Who ever heard of a Legislature in one of those states, except New York, in 1837, ever refusing to read, print, or consider, the petitions of the people?

Congress sits to hear the various petitions of this nation, except those affecting human liberty, more than one-third of the year. The whole form of our government, family, school, town, county, state, nation,—whether in the Legislative, Judicial, or Executive, at every step and angle of proceeding in human affairs, whether in church or state, whether in prosperity or adversity, sickness or health, moves forward on the wheels of petitions. Petitioning or requesting, whether written or verbal, is one side of affairs, while the other is to consider and weigh the application on its merits, and grant or refuse the petition asked.

No, the whole system of Divinity, the worship of God, whether it be that of the Mahometan, or the Jew,—Protestant, or Catholic,—whether it be idolatrous or spiritual, in whatever form religion has been shadowed forth to this world, its votaries hold communion with the Unseen Power by petition. Man as man, the erring, the weak, the naked and trembling mortal of a day, goes to the Being who is infinitely his superior, by prayer and petition.

The Almighty's ear is not dull of hearing our petitions and complaints. Petition is the everlasting language in all countries and all climes, in all ages and conditions, of the subordinate, asking assistance from man, or deliverance from God. This is inseparable from the condition of man, man free, or man a slave.

What subject so proper, whether presented in person, or by another, as a petition to deliver the slave from his cruel bondage, his pain, his stripes, his insults,—to repeal laws taking away all his rights; to petition that a man may have his wife, a woman her husband, and both their children,—and that the daughter and son may not be taken from them and sent where the parents shall see them no more,—that their own backs may feel stripes no more,—that they may hunger no more, thirst no more, be insulted no more, debauched no more, kept ignorant no more, chained no more, and unpaid for labor no more.

The beings, of all others, requiring the intervention of supreme legislative power in their behalf, are the poor slaves, already bereaved of every political right in this world. Shocking to relate, these same audacious men, who have stolen the slave from Africa, by tempting the kidnapper, with their money, to go and catch him, or have held the slave as though the slave was under special obligation to the master, that he even permits and allows him to breathe and swallow God's fresh air, and look upon the same sun without striking him dead, and that he ought to be delighted to have an opportunity to serve a man, naked or in rags, who will suffer him to hoe cotton from daylight in his cotton field till dark, and have a peck of corn a week, or four cents per day to buy food,—ah! yes, these Southern slaveholding members of Congress deny the right of petition in behalf of these most forlorn beings, who are made wretched by being made the victims of pilfering, by having their masters meanly rob them, and steal from them, and whip them, to get more out of them, and then say to them, “we have abused you so badly that we shall not allow you to state your wrongs to the world or to Congress, as we do not intend our *meanness* shall be known.”

The truth may as well be known to the world first as last. The reason why the slaveholders rose up in the face of day and went out of the Hall of Representatives of this nation on the 20th December last, and concocted their successful scheme, which was put in execution, the next day to “lay all petitions on the subject of slavery unread, unprinted, unREFERRED, unCONSIDERED, and undebated on the table,” was from shame and conscious guilt, not having courage to face their deeds of cruelty, darkness, shame, crime, stealing, robbery, debauchery, and meanness, when held up to the glare of the world! They withered in advance, before the coming storm. “Ah!” say they, “are we, the sons of chivalry, to be called thieves and sons of thieves—we, who are members of Congress, living in pomp on the unpaid labor of the helpless, are we to be called devourers of widow's houses, yea, of the widows themselves and their children? Shall it be told that we made the poor child motherless and fatherless by selling, for money, the father from the children one year to a distant part of the country never to return, the next year that we have sold the mother whose sable breasts were the fountains of our infantile subsistence—the next year that we have whipped

and sold our own children, and uninstructed made them bondmen to the number of half a million, who have inherited from us, their white fathers, a bastard reputation, and all the wretched sorrows of a slave." Is this a father's legacy?

Deep, conscious guilt, on the part of the Southern masters, has made them roar like the ocean's waves, to turn the eyes of the world in every direction except toward themselves,—the ears of mankind to hear every thing, except the thrice-told tale of slaveholding infamy. Fear, *fear*, shame, *shame*, yes, burning SHAME, laid those resolutions on the table.

What! could the slaveholder bear a reference of the two millions of petitions, to a select committee who felt deeply for the slave, with power to send for persons and papers, and with leave to said committee to sit in the vacation, from the coming July till December after, to collect all the materials for a report and draw the death warrant of slavery, as the very report itself would be?

This nation only requires the report of a select committee of seven persons, energetically employed a few months, to make out the indictment against slavery, to have a verdict of guilty pronounced by an injured and indignant nation.

What will be in that report? How will it be made up? What are the materials of such a report, and how are they to be obtained? Let us look at it a little.

1. This committee should send for all the codes of slave laws, of the several states, and of the United States. Bring up, now, those statute books of blood and crime, and you will find them full of high treason against God and against humanity. Laws made by the very men who claim this property under those laws. And what do they establish? Why, power, irresponsible power, of man over man. This is the beginning and the end,—the pervading spirit of the whole code, from beginning to end. Name the civil right which these laws secure to the slave! There are none; there is no recognition of a single right in the slave.

2. What is the sustenance which these laws claim for the black man, as the only legal compensation for a life of compulsory toil? Read the words—"one peck of corn per week"—that is, two shillings a week, or about six mills for each meal. Our Northern horses,—pardon me, I do not intend to be low; it touches humanity, and cannot be low;—I was saying our Northern horses must have at least twenty-five cents *per day* in oats—or fourteen shillings per week. The keeping of one Northern horse is equal to that of fourteen Southern slaves. There is no man in a laborious employment here, who does not pay a dollar and a half or two dollars a week for his board. Does a Northern man eat fourteen times as much as one at the South? No, but the saving is in the quality and cost of the food. Figures will tell you, that in the article of keeping alone, the master of 200 slaves will make a saving of \$314 a week, barely by the deductions from the poor slave's stomach. This in a year would make the pretty sum of sixteen thousand dollars, pinched out of these wretched men! The whole world would cry out, "Oh, inhumanity!" But until such an investigation can be made, I fear this nation will not believe the fact, although we show it in the very statute books of the South. Very probably there are numbers here to-day, who will set all this down as abolition slang, not worthy of belief or regard. But if they could see the evidence brought out in a Congressional report, the whole nation would cry out, in a voice that might almost rend the rocks, for the speedy abolition of this detestable system.

3. There is another thing which we should find in these statute books of the slave states. No black man can, in any circumstances, be a witness

against a white man. Hang that fact up before the nation and the world. Add to it, that by the slave code no marriage can be binding between a slave and his wife, but may be dissolved at any moment by the arbitrary will of the master. Then, again, the parent has no authority over the child, to train or govern him according to the law of God. Hang that up to view. Go on, now, and make a full synopsis of these laws. You will find, however, that they have made provision for hanging the man who shall murder a slave. Now, then, let the committee summon all the clerks of the counties throughout the slave region, to bring their records, and certify whether there has ever been a single instance of a master being hanged for the murder of a slave. Yet, in North Carolina, not long since, two white men were hung for merely coaxing a slave away from his master. And, I suppose, a single sheet would contain a list of all the cases on record, of punishments inflicted on masters for cruelties or injuries inflicted on their slaves.

4. Next, I would have the committee of Congress call up ten experienced planters from each of the slave states, to testify, what is the political economy of slavery. I would require them to state, as honest men, whether the question has not been often discussed among them, which is the most profitable, to work slaves to death in five years, when cotton is fourteen cents per pound, or to work them twenty years, with cotton at ten cents. Inquire of them whether one-third of the plantation slaves are not let out to tenants, whose only interest is to get out of those poor creatures the greatest possible amount of labor with the least possible expense for subsistence and comfort. And yet we have men among us, who have rolled through the South in the public conveyances, and seen the well-fed servants at the hotels, and who tell you they know all about slavery, for they have been there, and the slaves are the happiest class of beings in the world.

5. Next, I would send for some men of a class that I believe it is Patrick Henry describes as the *feculum* of creation, the scrapings of humanity,—the slave drivers, Northern men, who have sold themselves, body and soul, to carry on this dreadful business in the detail. I would interrogate them as to the various modes of subduing a refractory spirit, of finding out whether a slave is sick or feigns sickness, and all the various expedients of cruelty by which an overseer tries to build up the reputation of a great labor-getter.

6. Let our Congressional committee then send for a hundred free men from the slave states, who have never owned a slave themselves, nor their relations, and let them tell what they know about the cruelties and the pollutions incident to the system of slavery.

7. Then I would send for a hundred free colored men, who should be allowed for the first time, under the security of the strong arm of the nation, to testify of their wrongs. Let each one tell how often and by what hair-breadth escapes he has avoided being kidnapped into slavery. Let him turn to that law which allows the magistrate to exile a free colored man from his country, on ten day's notice, unheard, untried, without cause, without compensation, as passion or caprice may dictate, with confiscation of his estate; and if he refuses to go, to be sold as a slave, and his children after him for ever.

8. Then I would have them call for a hundred of the ten thousand fugitive slaves, that have found a refuge in Canada, under the government of a hereditary monarch, from the tender mercies of our republican institutions. Let them tell of hopes crushed and hearts broken, of what they endured in slavery, and of the sufferings and anxieties through which they have passed while in the pursuit of liberty.

9. Then I would have brought up before the committee a hundred slaves from the cotton-fields and the sugar-houses, who should give ocular demonstration of what slavery is. I would have them freed, and protected by a strong force, and then they should show their persons abused, their limbs mutilated, their brands and gashes, their backs cut from the shoulders to the heels with republican stripes.

When the committee have gathered all the information in their power, let it be embodied in a report. It would make a volume of a thousand pages. Then send that report through the land. Let the mails burst and the stages groan with the mighty load, telling the naked truth on this subject, in an official and authentic form;—and I tell you, slavery never lifts its abominable head again. All that the nation wants is to have a case once made out to their conviction, that slavery *is what abolitionists charge it to be*, and our work is done.

This mountain of iniquity would then stand before every honest mind in all its dreadful prominence. The people, horror-struck, would cry out against it. The foundations of the great deep of crime, as yet unfathomed, would be broken up. As yet who hath believed our report, as abolitionists? But this would be moral demonstration. It would be taken on the oath of the people of the dark and sullen regions of slavery.—Yes, with this report, the nation would pronounce their everlasting condemnation and overthrow of slavery, and all would be FREE.

SPEECH OF ALANSON ST. CLAIR.

MR. PRESIDENT:—It will not be expected, after the long and extremely interesting speeches of the two gentlemen who have addressed this meeting, that I should add any interest, if, indeed, it will be possible for me, for any length of time, to keep them in the Hall. The time to which I am limited is short—too short to do any justice to the subject on which I had designed to speak; and had I not been urged by gentlemen in whose judgment I confide more than in my own, I should not have consented to open my mouth this evening.

Sir, there is, in New England, a numerous class of men who are abolitionists—firm, very firm—“as much as any body, but”—. Nor from what I have seen and heard in this city can I doubt that you are blessed, in Philadelphia, with the same class of friends to the poor slave. They believe our doctrines to be true—heartily espouse our principles, but disapprove our measures. These they regard as extremely imprudent and injudicious, if not anti-christian and ferocious. With regard to the subject of emancipation, they have never done any thing but merely to open their mouths, and never opened their mouths but to find fault with those who are laboring with all their might to bring it about; having always stood aloof from abolitionists, carped at all their well meant but persecuted endeavors, pointed out their minutest faults and defects, and sagely admonished them to listen to the warning voice of instruction, to abandon their present *modus operandi*, and to adopt and pursue such measures as their opponents can approve.

Sir, I *called* these gentlemen abolitionists. The fact that they are, they do not wish to remain at all dubious. No man ever puts the question but they answer with emphasis in the affirmative, and, lest it should be doubted, they go on to re-affirm: “Yes, I am as much of an abolitionist as you or any other man—I hate slavery as bad as any body—I have been an aboli-

tionist as long as I have been a man—I look upon slavery as being a great evil, and would do almost any thing to remove it—but, [and here comes the rub] I wish you distinctly to understand, I have no sympathy with abolitionists—I do not like their measures—I believe they misrepresent the intentions and conduct of the master and the condition of the slave, and make the system appear much more wicked and cruel than it is ever found in practice. I have been in the slave states and seen the slaves, and I believe a majority of them are kindly treated, content, and happy.”

It would, doubtless, be uncharitable and cruel to suspect the sincerity of profession or soundness of principle in these self-styled abolitionists,—although, if the professed friend of any other cause gave no evidence of love and attachment to its principles but mere profession, and labored to make that ample in the same ratio that he fell short in practice, one might possibly set down his over anxiety to appear true, as a just ground of suspicion as to the soundness of his principles on the whole subject. Great and frequent professions are unnecessary, where faith is shown by works. People find out fast enough that the abolitionists are opposed to slavery, without their taking the trouble of stating the fact. Nor should I be greatly surprised, if, before I close my remarks, some had become so uncharitable as to deem opposition to our measures an evidence that men do not approve our principles; and to suspect that those who make this opposition are under the necessity, at the same time, of making great professions of hatred to slavery, in order to have it believed that they entertain any such feeling at heart. Men as much opposed to slavery as you, and yet propping it up with apologies and excuses!—hate it as bad as any body, and yet complain that you hold it up in a light too odious! What would you say of a professed Christian, who should complain that you denounced sin too unsparingly, and gave the Devil too wicked and cruel a character?

Our measures, sir,—what are they? I have never seen a fault-finder who knew. Are they injudicious? Are they imprudent? Are they unchristian? Are they ferocious? Are they not the same which are adopted by all moral reformers in the world, to overthrow long-standing and deep-rooted sins? I mistake, if on examination they be not found the very same, and if the hearer be not astonished that any professed Christian or philanthropist could find it in his heart to reject or carp at them.

In all moral, civil, and political reforms, not only must the evil to be removed be exposed, and clearly seen and felt, and the results to be effected be explained and understood,—but there must be a connexion between the means and end; the one must be adapted to the other, and calculated to bring it about. Abolitionists believe slaveholding to be a sin, a sin of the first magnitude, a sin in all possible circumstances—that no human being can reduce another to, or hold him in, the condition of a slave, without guilt—that all who are now in this practice, ought immediately to abandon it, and restore the victims of oppression to their unalienable rights; and they know this foul practice has sheltered itself behind the broad *ÆGIDE* of the statutes of the nation and states for protection. Whether these opinions be true or false is not now the question. They are our principles, and it is enough that the opponent admits them to be true, and approves them. I shall take this fact for granted, and endeavor to show that our measures are well adapted to make them known and felt, and thus to remove the evil at which they are aimed. I desire it to be distinctly remembered that my remarks are designed for those, and those only, who believe and approve these principles, but object to our measures; and such opponents must not forget their admissions and attempt to take them back, when

they come to see our moral and political machinery. In what does this consist?

First. The organization of ourselves into voluntary associations, called Anti-Slavery Societies, on the principle that slaveholding is sinful and ought to be immediately abandoned, (which the opponent admits,) in order to combine our moral strength, and produce the means to promulge these principles.

Second. The appointment of lecturers or agents, to travel through the community and teach those principles.

Third. The employment of the press to promulge those principles, and no others; to hold up the sin of slaveholding and the duty of its abandonment.

Fourth. The holding of annual, quarterly, and monthly meetings for the same purpose, to learn the progress we have made, to encourage each other to persevere, and pray God for aid.

Fifth. The petitioning of Congress to repeal the laws by which slavery is now upheld, in those sections which are under its control,—to abolish the slave trade between the states, and to cease yielding the system any support.

Sixth. The use of the ballot-box, in the hand of the freeman, to send such men into the councils of the nation, as will carry out the principles of our forefathers in the Declaration of Independence.

These, sir, are the measures of the abolitionists, and all the measures that I know any thing about, adopted by them, for the accomplishment of their designs. Are these injudicious, imprudent, unwise, anti-christian, ferocious? Let us analyze and compare them with our principles and with the measures of other societies.

The first measure of abolitionists is the organization of voluntary associations, on the avowed principle that slaveholding is a heinous sin in the sight of God, which, like all other sins, ought to be immediately repented of and abandoned, for the purpose of combining and concentrating moral power, and giving it such a direction as to rectify public opinion, and kindle it into a flame against slaveholding, which shall, one day, burn it out, root and branch.

Slaveholding, as has been already remarked, has entrenched itself behind the power of the national statute book for protection. How is it to be driven from this strong hold? Can it be dethroned without the same power that has crowned it? And what is that, but the Congress of this nation? How can Congress be brought to act against it, but by petitions, instructions, and the ballot-box? How can you get these machines in operation, but by the general concert and action of the people? How can you procure that general concert and action, but by exposing the wickedness and horrors of the system to be abolished, and the unmerited suffering of its wretched victims? And how can you come at the necessary men and means to lay open its penetralia and bring to light its astounding secrets, unless those who know them, will associate and pledge themselves to scatter the light thoroughly over the land? This is what we have done and are still doing;—and is this an injudicious or unwise measure? So does not the slaveholder believe.

Sir, is not voluntary association to combine moral power and produce joint effort, for the exposure of sin, the first step toward any moral reform? Was there ever one produced in the world, of which this was not the principal lever? Was not this measure adopted by the Son of God, for the salvation of a lost world? Did he not first establish his religion by organizing those already converted into societies, founded on the great prin-

ples of truth and righteousness revealed in the Gospel? Their numbers may have been small, but still they were societies, voluntary associations—affiliated for a single purpose—the propagation of their doctrine, the overthrow of heathenism, and the conversion of men to their principles—as much as any anti-slavery society at the present day. Was not the measure opposed, at that day, by the enemies of Christianity, as being violent and fanatical? Was he not admonished to be careful how he attempted its prosecution? Was it not in consequence of persevering, in contempt and defiance of these prudent suggestions, that he suffered death?

His disciples adopted the same measures, and prosecuted the plans laid by their master. Terrible as was the admonition they received in his fate, it proved inadequate to teach his followers prudence and discretion. They went forward in his footsteps, unmoved by this and subsequent obstacles and outrages, otherwise than as they tended to quicken their zeal. Neither the cautions of the timid, the threats of the violent, nor the death of their brethren, could teach them wisdom. *We, sir, are deemed mad, when, admonished by the fall of one of our number by the rifles of a pack of assassins in consequence of adhesion to his principles, we will not pause and seal our lips in silence.* It will be time to do so, when, like those of our master and his apostles, they are sealed in death. Did *they* turn back, abandon their cause and disband their societies, because hypocritical Pharisees cried out “You disturb our beloved Zion, and divide our church”—or because wily politicians and aspiring demagogues bade them to cease agitating the community with their new doctrines, and even accused them of treason? Did they forsake their mighty engine of voluntary association, because their enemies pronounced it a violent measure? No, sir; they only refilled the furnace with burning coals of truth, raised the moral steam still higher, and set the machinery in more rapid motion. Voluntary associations—affiliated societies—are these a violent and unchristian measure? Then were our blessed Lord and his apostles violent and unchristian men.

Sir, what is every religious society which now is, or ever has been, in existence, but a voluntary association—affiliated for the purpose of sustaining and promulgating their principles, of changing the opinions of men, and bringing them, as far as may be, to think and act with themselves? What was the lever with which Luther, Calvin, and Knox upturned the deep foundations of Popery in Germany, Geneva, and Scotland? Voluntary associations. Every where, in their power, they combined men together, on the principles of independent interpretation of Scripture—Bible open to all—no mass—no license—no worship of images. They were most unsparingly denounced by the Pope and his minions, as censorious, impudent, ultra, fanatical traitors. Their books were burned by the hangman, as “a scandal to pious ears.” Rewards were offered for their heads. Many of their friends thought “molasses much better than vinegar to catch flies.” They replied, “that it might be, but that it was foxes, not flies, they were hunting, and that nothing would affect Popery, unless it had a bite.” We are very happy this evening to sit in the enjoyment of the rich blessings, derived by us from the voluntary associations which these men gathered, amidst suffering and peril; and are we at the same time to denounce the measure as unchristian? Shall we light our torch at the altar of religion, to burn down her temple?

What is the leading measure, by which professed Christians, through the civilized world, are laboring to send the gospel to, and convert the heathen? What, but voluntary associations—Bible and missionary societies. Throughout Christendom are they already organized and in active operation. Is not the measure a good one? Who has ever pronounced it violent, ultra, or

unchristian? By what means have the ravages of intemperance been stayed in the New England and Middle states, within the last few years, and so many tipplers and drunkards been reformed? By voluntary associations, called Temperance Societies. Men have united on the great principle, that it is wicked to drink alcohol, pledging themselves to abstain from all drink which will intoxicate, and have labored incessantly to cover drunkenness with reproach, until it has now become almost as much as a man's reputation is worth to be seen using intoxicating drink. The measure was bitterly denounced by the distiller, importer, and vender. But if it continues to be prosecuted much longer with the same success which has hitherto attended it, these gentlemen will not, many years longer, have the pleasure of measuring out liquid poison to their neighbors.

Thus, sir, has voluntary association been the leading measure in all moral reforms. Are not the results it has produced sufficient vouchers for its character and tendency? And is it not just as good, when applied to the overthrow of slavery, as to that of any other sin? Can you destroy this, any more than other sins, without combining the moral power of men against it? The opponent admits, that the result to be produced is good, and acknowledges the principle to be sound, on which the association is based. Why then should those, who approve our principles, oppose it, when applied to the abolition of slavery? Sir, to be consistent, they must either abandon all other societies of which they are members, or renounce our principles, and cease to call themselves abolitionists, or else join with us and give the weight and influence of their character, example, and efforts to overturn this heaven-defying castle of iniquity.

Our second and third measures too nearly resemble each other, to need being discussed separately. They are the appointment of agents to lecture, and the employment of the press to publish our sentiments. They are both of such a nature as to need little labor to show their soundness and indispensability.

If slavery is ever overthrown, the work must be done either by physical force, or by moral suasion. Either the master must be satisfied slaveholding is sinful, and persuaded to relinquish his present tyrannic grasp,—the slave must fight his way to liberty or remain where he is,—or the military power of the nation must force him from his master's hold. Which of these is the proper mode for the adoption of the Christian, no man can be at a loss to determine. The abolitionist chooses the moral power, and to put it in action resorts to the forum, the pulpit, and the press. These are the guardians of a nation's freedom and morality,—the palladium of liberty and the bulwark of religion. They are all liable to be abused and perverted, but that they are in themselves evil, will not be pretended. Virtue flies to them as a shield; but vice shuns them as the robber does the sheriff. They are resorted to by every sect or party in Christendom, for the accomplishment of their purposes, unless those purposes are of a character which will not bear the light.

Why, then, may we not resort to these means in common with every body else? Is not the effect we are laboring to produce good, great, and glorious? Do any complain of the principles we lay down, the doctrine we preach, the sentiments we publish? Oh no; their truth is admitted; the opponent approves of our principles. How, then, can it be wrong for an abolitionist to preach these principles in the pulpit or publish them in a book, pamphlet, or newspaper? Or, in accordance with these principles, how can it be wrong for him to spread through the whole nation a knowledge of the wickedness, cruelties, and horrors of slaveholding? since it is

perfectly right for any other society, sect, or party, to employ these measures to promote any end which they approve, and which it is proper to attain? Is it really unchristian in the hated Anti-Slavery societies to appoint agents or ministers of truth, to travel through, and wake up a slumbering community snoring over the condition of twenty-five hundred thousand human beings, who are groaning under the vilest system of oppression that ever saw the sun?

Sir: every religious denomination, benevolent combination, political party, money-making corporation, scientific or literary club, may freely establish its press and send out its agent, to arrest public opinion; nay, even deists and atheists may write and scatter falsehood and immorality broad-cast over the United States; and all is quiet; no one is alarmed. They have a perfect right, says public sentiment, to speak and publish their opinions. Why, then, should *that*, which is not merely harmless, but meritorious, in every other combination in the country, be so wicked and abominable in us? Infidels may ride rough-shod over every thing holy in our cities, and no one molests. But if abolitionists raise the long-hushed cry “that all men are created equal,” and bid the oppressor “break every yoke,”—not hornets, but brick-bats, are flying about his ears. If these measures be unchristian, our opponents are all involved with us in the guilt, for they all adopt them. Let them change their course and we will award them the meed of consistency. But where is the man to be found, who will not be obliged to plead guilty, if these two measures are unchristian? one of them was adopted by the Saviour of the world, and the other would have been, had the art of printing been known at his advent. Did he not appoint his agents and send them through all the nations of the East, agitating whole communities like an ocean lashed into madness by a violent tempest? Did he not command them to agitate the whole world in the same manner. Though the Jews and heathen ranted, raved, mobbed, and murdered them for these measures, did they ever change or abandon them, or, for a moment, loose sight of their great purpose?

Sir: to reject these two measures were to abandon the very principles which the objector professes to approve. How could we get a knowledge of our principles to the public, except through the public ear and eye? And what modes have we of reaching these, but the press and pulpit? None at all; and to relinquish them is to give up our principles. What, then, is the meaning—the plain English—of this cry against our measures? And why are nearly all the pulpits in the land shut against the advocates of God’s poor? The clergy claim to be abolitionists,—to approve our principles. Then why not permit our agents to go into their churches and preach their own sentiments? They hold no other opinions on great subjects of humanity, which they would be unwilling to have avowed and defended in their churches, unless they were opinions of which they would be ashamed. They hold anti-slavery sentiments! Why, then, are they so mortally offended, when I publish their own sentiments on slaveholding, and send them through the country in books, papers, and pamphlets? Every body in the free states, they tell us, is opposed to slavery. But is it not unaccountable, on this supposition, that men should break up our printing presses, shut their church doors in our faces, dash in our windows with brickbats, break our furniture, and burn it before our eyes, apply the torch to our houses, and then shoot us down with their rifles? Is this pro-slavery compensation for preaching and publishing principles, which they believe as much as we do? Can that man really hate slavery in his heart, who is ready to die in convulsions of negrophobia, the moment you say a

word against it? If the tree is to be known by its fruits, and if "actions speak louder than words," it is very certain he hates abolitionism quite as bad as slaveholding.

Our fourth measure,—the holding of meetings to learn and communicate a knowledge of the condition of our cause, and of our past success,—to encourage each other, and to pray God for assistance,—is of a nature to need no explanation or discussion. It is adopted by every society of believers in a God, and commends itself at once to the understanding and the heart. They all have their stated meetings annually, quarterly, monthly, or weekly, as they judge proper, and I conclude no one will pronounce this measure to be unchristian, rash, or imprudent. I shall, therefore, pass it over, and take up the two remaining ones. Previous to discussing these, however, I beg leave to offer a few desultory remarks upon the four on which I have been speaking.

Voluntary associations, with the liberty of meeting freely and frequently together, of discussing the rights of man, the wrongs he suffers, and their own duties in relation to the oppressed, conscious that they are gathered in the name, and acting under the approbation, of God, with the thousand wings of the press, and conscientious, pious, talented lecturers to preach their sentiments, are an engine the most formidable and fearful to tyrants of any thing to be imagined. Why have they always been suppressed by despotic sovereigns? Why has the Pope feared them worse than ten thousand devils? Why has the Autocrat of Russia interdicted them under such severe pains and penalties? Why, in order to crush them, did the tyrant of France establish his hundred-eyed police? Because they all well knew that, if voluntary associations, with any of these facilities, were tolerated, their subjects would soon understand their own rights and deny the divine right of kings, and that their crowns would then sit lightly upon their heads, if, indeed, they were not trodden in the dust.

But the tyrants of the "old world" are not the only men who understand, and tremble at, the results of voluntary associations, organized for intellectual, political, or moral purposes, and swayed by conscience and the commands of God. Our tyrants fear them no less than they. Look for a moment to the history of the last four years. What has rocked the high and low places of this nation with the violence of Egypt, when God set down the foot of his Almighty power to tread out the tyranny of Pharaoh? The opponent will probably reply, the abolitionists. But what have they done? Have they menaced the nation with an invading army, threatening slaughter and destruction? Have they invaded any man's rights, or set at defiance, or even disobeyed, any of the laws of the land? Had they done this they had been stopped at once, for there are not wanting men disposed to put the penal laws in execution against them. No, sir; they have simply held meetings, preached, prayed, and published their sentiments. Instead of invading rights, they have discussed and asserted them; instead of disobeying laws, they have shown how slaveholders are living daily in violation of the laws of God and man. This has been our offence, and it is the fear of the results which this will produce, that has called forth the "sea of fire, mingled with blood," in which they have been compelled to swim.

A few years ago, when there was not an anti-slavery society in the country, and when all was a dead calm of indifference in relation to the condition of the slave, when slaveholding was rather considered as an evil than a sin, and the master as deserving more sympathy than the poor victim of his avarice and cruelty, any man might write, publish, and preach what he pleased on the subject; not a pulpit was shut against it, not a mob threatened disturbance. Any minister might write and publish a sermon,

the Society of Friends might send out an epistle or memorial on the “great evil of slavery,” and no body was offended. Even the Southern reviewers would notice them with great favor and approbation, assuring the benevolent author, or authors, that the slaveholders were not less sensible of the evils of slavery, than their Northern brethren,—but always concluding with the portentous question, “What can we do?” “Sure enough,” said the good Northerner, “the slaveholder is as much opposed to slavery as we are, and if any thing could be done, he would be the first to put his shoulder to the wheel.” This little question, “what can we do,” at the close of an article approving of these good men’s efforts, was a sufficient moral anodyne; it stupified their conscience and quieted all their anxiety on the subject. Their efforts had perhaps sent out a straggling ray of moral light across the dark path of slavery, and exposed the hideousness of a horn or a cloven foot, but it shot rapidly along, leaving the thick darkness to close in after it, which seemed to be increased by the momentary light with which it had been disturbed. The monster slavery, like the Greek philosopher, who cut off his dog’s tail to turn the attention of the eager multitude away from his real faults, smiled most complaisantly as it passed by, hoping that, if, by approving such scattering and ineffectual efforts, he could keep the community from organizing formidable and fatal opposition, he might yet be able to live on unharmed. But, no sooner was the sentiment avowed, that slaveholding was not merely an evil, but a sin, and that no man, in any circumstances, could be innocent in *chattellizing* a human being, in holding him as an article of property, liable to be sold under the hammer like a beast, than Southern reviewers began to change their notes, and slaveholding ministers to metamorphose the Bible, in order to uphold *that* which, but a short time before, they hated as bad as any body, and would have been glad to get rid of, but did not know how to come at it. No sooner did the men and women, in the free states, who believed this principle, begin to collect themselves together into a moral lens, that they might gather up all the scattering light in the land, concentrate and pour it in an incessant, burning stream, upon the persons living in the commission of this sin, than you find the monster alarmed for his existence, floundering in the struggles of dissolving nature, foaming out his venom and spite on all who labor to bring him into the light, threatening to sever the union of the nation if this lens be not broken, lashing his minions into fury, and calling on the mob at the North, to step forward and save him, by scattering and destroying the anti-slavery societies, and upon the slaveholders in the South, to destroy, by Lynch Law, every abolitionist who goes into a Southern state.

Whence all this alarm and panic? Our opponents gravely admonish us to cease agitating this subject, because we can never *accomplish* any thing; declaring our measures to be incapable of affecting the South, or of reaching the slaveholder. Sir; are these threats, struggles, and convulsions, the result of weak and ineffectual measures? They give the slaveholder little credit for common sense. Suppose our leading opinion were, that the moon is green cheese, or, that the earth is hollow and inhabited on the inside. Suppose we met every year, month, or week, to make out these points, and had fifty presses and twice as many agents employed in spreading the opinion? How many mobs would it raise? How many mail robbery associations, or Lynch committees, would be organized in the Southern states, to put us down and destroy our publications? Or suppose you were to come down the Delaware to this city, and, on landing, found the whole disposable force of this nation drawn up in battle order upon its shore. They are braced in armor to the teeth, standing with faces pale, swords drawn, bayonets fixed, muskets loaded, and cannon charged to the

muzzle. You ask the commander wherefore this numerous gathering and these awful preparations? In reply, he points across the river to a crow sitting upon the fence, and inquires, "Do you see that bird?" "Yes." "Well," says he, "we intend to prevent his flying into this city if we can." Would you believe it? Just as likely would you see the present indications of slaveholding preparation to defend their "peculiar institutions," or the ebullition of their wrath and fury every where exhibited, if they did not know their pet is in danger. These men are not fools, whatever may be said of their morality. You do not easily get them on a false scent, or alarm them with goblins. If they considered our measures either ill-suited to the end they are designed to attain, or impotent in themselves, instead of putting themselves thus on the defensive, they would bid us go onward, and laugh at our folly.

Again:—whence this panic, these threats, this violence, in the whole South? Do they fear robbery, insurrection, or invasion? Not at all. Listen to the following confessions from the most talented and eagle-eyed of their statesmen:

"Do they (the Southerners) expect the abolitionists will resort to arms—will commence a crusade to liberate our slaves by force? * * * Let me tell our friends of the South, who differ from us, that the war which the abolitionists wage against us is of a very different character, and far more effective; it is waged, not against our lives, but our characters."—*John C. Calhoun.*

"We have most to fear from the effects of organized action upon the consciences and fears of the slaveholders themselves—from the insinuation of these dangerous heresies (anti-slavery sentiments) into our schools, our pulpits, and our domestic circles. We have most to fear from their gradual operation on public opinion among ourselves. And those are the most insidious and dangerous invaders of our rights and interests, who, coming to us in the guise of friendship, endeavor to persuade us that slavery is a sin, a curse, and an evil. It is not true that the South sleeps on a volcano—that we are fearful of murder and pillage. Our greatest cause of apprehension is from the operation of the morbid sensibility, which appeals to the consciences of our own people, and would make them the voluntary instruments of their own ruin," [*i. e.*, of emancipation.]—*Duff Green.*

"Are we to wait till our enemies have built up a body of public opinion against us, which it would be almost impossible to resist, without separating ourselves from the social system of the rest of the civilized world?"—*Gov. Hamilton.*

"The petitions do not come to us as heretofore, single and far apart, from the quiet routine of the Society of Friends, or the obscure vanity of some philanthropic club; but they are sent to us in vast numbers from soured and agitated communities; poured in upon us from the overflowing of public sentiment, which every where in all Western Europe, and Eastern America, has been lashed into excitement on this subject. The bosom of society heaves with new and violent emotions."—*Senator Preston.*

"To acknowledge the right or to tolerate the act of *interference at all*, with this institution, is to *give it up—to abandon it entirely*. The South must hold this institution, *not amidst alarm and molestation*, but in *peace, perfect peace*, from the *interference or agitation* of others, or, I repeat it, *she will—she can, hold it not at all.* * * * * The spirit of abolition has advanced and is advancing. It increases by opposition, it triumphs by defeat."—*Robert B. Rhett.*

Such are some of the confessions of slaveholders themselves. Do they not clearly establish these two points? First, that our measures are the

proper and only effectual ones to batter down this Bastile of slavery? And second, that they themselves have no apprehensions of violence on the part of the abolitionists, or of insurrection from the workings of their measures, but simply that they fear such repentance on the part of those slaveholders who have any conscience, and such contempt and public scorn on the part of others, as will ultimately induce the whole to emancipate their slaves?

I suppose, sir, the objector has by this time lost his opposition to these measures, and is ready to take a new position; to declare himself in favor of the measures themselves, but opposed to *our* mode of applying them. "A man," he will say, "may be very sick, and in need of a physician and medicine. Another may be sent for to examine his case, and administer to his wants. He may have the right medicine in his pocket; but if he be an ignorant quack, knows not one drug from another, and deals out opium when he ought to give rhubarb, or henbane instead of castor oil, he will be much more likely to kill than cure his patient." Very true. An excellent comparison. I will be the quack, the objector the skilful physician, and the poor slave the sick patient. He and I stand in the highway, and see the wretched creature dying of pain, writhing, struggling, and agonizing for life. He cries out, "help! help! or I perish." We stand and look at each other, declaring how much we hate sickness in the abstract, and what we should be willing to do for its removal. But as to this poor sick man, before *our* eyes, we forbear to move, lest we should make him sicker,—still knowing that, unless relieved in a few hours, he must certainly die. Impressed with the conviction that he will die in his present condition, I go up and give him a medicine—or attempt to give it—but my cautious neighbor cries out "Forbear; you do not know enough about that matter, to administer any thing to him." "Well, doctor, won't you take him in hand? he must have help or die?" "That may be," says the good physician; "but I am not sure *but* he will die, if I undertake to cure him, and I have no notion of resting under the odium of a murderer." I have the same medicine he has, but he insists I shall not give the sick man a particle, because I do not know how to apply it. Is it not, then, very clear, that he is bound to take hold and aid him, if he knows, better than I, what is needed? And if it be in his power to save the man's life, and yet he refuses, is he not guilty of his death? And that a thousand times more than if he had attempted to cure him, and he had died under the operation of his medicine?

Let us now apply this last illustration. The opponent believes our principles and measures are both good, but stands aloof because we do not properly apply them. Is he not bound, then, to step forward and make the application himself? He says we are harsh and violent in our language, and this defeats the end we labor to attain. Very well. Let him come in and do better. We have done the best we could with the men we have had. Our cause has been extremely unpopular. The prudent, cautious, and timid, have stood aloof. None was willing to plead for the slave, unless he were a bold, headstrong man, not afraid to do it with a halter round his neck, or a brickbat flying about his ears. These men are not the ones to cull the vocabulary for smooth terms, or to stop and knock the rough corners from their sentences. Had the prudent and cautious taken hold of the work at the first, and given us their sympathies, counsel, and influence, instead of shunning, frowning upon, and jeering us, we should probably have been saved from all the evils of which they now complain. They are still looking on with a lynx eye, observing our faults, writing down our mistakes, and carping at our errors. Why do they not take hold and correct those evils? and not be passing by on the other side, with

priest and Levite indifference, while the slave is perishing for want of help? They complain of our leaders. But we admit no leaders—we are brethren in this cause, working shoulder to shoulder. But if they will have it that there are leaders, and they dislike the direction in which they draw, let them buckle on the harness and give us a better lead; we shall not hesitate to follow, if they lead in the way of emancipation. If they know where all our errors lie, are they not the very men to correct them? Whence, then, this carping about men and measures? What sort of an apology will it be at the day of judgment, for having refused to open their mouths for the dumb, that they did not like the style in which the abolitionists plead their cause?

Thus much for our moral machinery. Let us now take a peep at the political, which is involved in the fifth and sixth measures,—the ballot-box and petition. Against both of these, the demagogue and party politician will, no doubt, be ready to cry aloud. But, with God's blessing, we will, in a few years, make them cry the other side of their mouths. That cry is, to my mind, proof positive that the measures are sound and well applied. Snakes do not hiss, unless you disturb their repose. Nor would these gentlemen, unless they saw a probability of their downy seats being upset by the anti-slavery ear, give themselves much trouble about our measures. They need not be alarmed; we have a large and gallant ear, which will afford them all ample accommodation, if they will only come on board and become anti-slavery passengers.

Petition and the ballot-box are the hands on the great public clock, to show the anti-slavery time of day. Just so far as our moral measures prepare the nation for emancipation, men will be elected and Legislatures petitioned for this purpose; and when the people are but once ready to vote for such men as will go for emancipation, and to instruct them accordingly, the work will be done, and not before.

It is not intended to organize a third political party. That would be suicidal to our cause. Abolitionists are but a small minority, and such organization would only ensure defeat. But the other parties are so nearly equal, that they have a strong balance of political power in nearly all the free states. This power they are as much bound to reserve for the slave as they are bound to be abolitionists. Like all other power and blessings, it is bestowed on them by God, and they are accountable to Him for the manner in which it is applied. If, by carrying it to the polls, they can emancipate the slave, and they refuse to do so, by that refusal they just as much connive at slaveholding, as they would at arson by passing a house, seeing the incendiary apply the torch, and refusing to sound the alarm. Let them look well to this subject. Mr. Van Buren has sworn to uphold this system by his veto power. Let abolitionists tell his party and the Whigs, if they expect anti-slavery votes, they must put up candidates for the presidency who are not slaveholders nor the slaveholder's sworn minions, but high-minded men, known to be the friends of emancipation, and ready to do all in their power to promote it. Let them pursue the same course with regard to every representative for whom they are called upon to vote; and, in less than three years, the District of Columbia and Territory of Florida will be freed from this polluting institution.

How else can they expect ever to complete their designs? The day of miracles is past; ours are all representative governments, every member of which is statedly chosen by the people, knowing that he holds his office only at the pleasure and by the permission of the people, and that he must retire whenever they say the word. Such a man they have only to instruct or petition, to be heard and obliged. I know, indeed, they sometimes talk

big about not being bound by the will of their constituents, but some how or other they generally act as their constituents desire. And we care very little how they talk, if we can be sure of right action.

Many timid people appear to be alarmed that the abolitionists avow themselves disposed to have any thing to do with political matters; not so much on account of the measures being faulty themselves, as the fear that in consequence of adopting them the abolitionists may be charged by their enemies with ambition. Our cause, they think, should be carried forward only by moral means. True, it should be, so far as to make men abolitionists. But suppose every body in this nation were abolitionists but twenty thousand slaveholders, and these were of such a character that you could no more persuade them to emancipate the victims of their avarice, lust, and cruelty, than you could the enemy of mankind to become a saint. What would you do? The hammer of divine truth would rebound from their hearts like that of a blacksmith from his anvil. I could easily manage them on my plan. Let abolitionists be elected representatives in all the Southern Legislatures, and they would purge their land of slavery as quickly and effectually, as did Hercules the Augean stable. But without this, I do not know how you could liberate the victims of their wickedness.

In the capitol of our nation, a few men hold about six thousand more in the condition of beasts—and that little spot is the slave-mart of the whole South. Some of these men you may persuade to emancipate their slaves. How will you emancipate the remainder? Congress can do the work any day they choose; and they will choose to do it, when they know they cannot hold their seats on any other condition; and this fact they can easily be taught by the ballot-box and petitions. But without these measures on the part of abolitionists, it is in vain to expect any such result.

Sir, we have had a little experiment on the tendency of these measures in Massachusetts. Two years ago last winter, the Southern states sent on their edicts to our Legislature, demanding the enactment of penal laws to gag us on the subject of slavery, and prevent the organization of anti-slavery societies. Our governor, in his message, intimated, that we were liable to be indicted at common law as disturbers of the peace. A committee was appointed by the Legislature to consider and report on the subject, who, out of courtesy, permitted the abolitionists, at their own earnest desire, to come forward and show cause—if any there was—why they should not be condemned; but finally did not permit them to speak, because some of them were not sufficiently suppliant to square with the chairman's notion of anti-slavery propriety. After giving the subject that profound attention which its importance demanded, he made his best bow to the slaveholder, and delivered the abolitionists over to the sovereign mob. His report and resolutions were, however, never taken up nor acted upon. The old far-seeing politicians knew too much of the spirit of Massachusetts to burn their fingers in a fire kindled and fed by slaveholders. They were aware that, how little soever of anti-slavery, or how much of hatred to abolitionists, there might be among the people, there was too much self-respect to bow the knee “to the dark spirit of slavery,” and they very prudently let the report lie on the table, where it “*still lieth.*”

The slaveholders, disappointed and chagrined at the result of their commands, did not repeat them the following year, and the citizens concluded to try *their* hand at the game. They circulated petitions, signed, and sent them in with many thousand signatures. A committee was now appointed to consider and report upon them, but with the design, as I was assured, of reporting that it would be inexpedient to legislate on the subject. But petition and the ballot-box are powerful arguments, and generally go further to

convince politicians, than the ablest made speeches or written communications ; and before the committee were ready to report, the former had accumulated in such numbers upon their hands, they saw it would not answer to adopt quite so summary a course,—the subject matter of the petition began to look much less objectionable—even to wear the appearance of reason. The abolitionists did not now have to crave permission to come forward and show cause why they ought not to be condemned ; but a day was fixed by the committee, and they were notified, and invited to come and speak to the questions embraced in the petitions. They came—the committee adjourned day after day, and nearly all the Legislature sat with them, or in the same hall, gave them a most patient, candid, and manly hearing ; petitions continued to thicken upon them, till they became satisfied there would be no risk in taking a manly stand against slavery, and instead of reporting that it was inexpedient to legislate on the subject, they offered a noble string of resolutions, which astonished the friends of them no less than the enemies. When they came into the House for action, the issue made up between the two political parties was, *which should go strongest against slavery*—and they passed by an almost unanimous vote. When sent to the Senate for concurrence, the same strife arose there, and that body not only adopted the ones passed by the House, but hitched on three more of a much stronger and more decided character. Owing to the alarm raised by the pro-slavery presses, which had formerly set the mobs upon the abolitionists—the House was frightened from concurring with those added by the Senate. The people not only sustained them, but on the following year, to a very wide extent, proposed questions to the candidates for their suffrage. When the Legislature convened they sent in a still larger number of petitions than formerly, and obtained every thing they asked for but one word, and that was *immediate*, in the resolution demanding the abolition of slavery.

Such have been the results of our measures in Massachusetts ; and such will be their result in Congress, and in every state in this nation when applied with the same efficiency. Do you discover in them any imprudence, ferocity, or anti-christianity ? Are they not well calculated to produce the end at which we aim ? Is it possible to carry our principles into practice without them ? If then the opponent be as much an abolitionist and opposed to slavery as you, let him show his principles by his practice, remembering that the tree is known by its fruits.

EXERCISES OF THE THIRD DAY.

THIS morning was devoted to discussion, as announced on the morning of the preceding day. The subject was the broad one of *Slavery and its Remedy*, and as an evidence of the deep interest which it awakened, the Hall was crowded earlier and with even a larger audience than at the former meetings. The speakers were Alvan Stewart, Edward C. Pritchett, Elder Frederick Plummer, William H. Burleigh, and Alanson St. Clair. Only two of them, however, have been able to furnish us with a sketch of their remarks. Previous to the discussion, the following letter from WALTER FORWARD, of Pittsburgh, was read, and also the letter from Dr. SLEIGH, published on page 73.*

PITTSBURGH, May 10, 1838.

Respected Friends,—I find it impossible to be with you at the Pennsylvania Hall on Tuesday next—a circumstance which I very much regret. It would have afforded me the highest gratification to comply with your wishes, had it been practicable so to do. The right of free discussion, and the right of petitioning those who may be in authority for the redress of grievances, are among the most sacred of all rights, and any attempt to cripple or abridge them must be met by a determined and indignant resistance. However partial I may be to the scheme of Colonization, I am none the less inflexible in the resolution, never to submit to any attempt, under whatever plausible pretext, to subdue the spirit of free discussion, or to render the servants of the people inaccessible to their complaints.

I am with much respect, your friend,

WALTER FORWARD.

Messrs. Samuel Webb, and Wm. H. Scott.—Committee.

SPEECH OF E. C. PRITCHETT.

E. C. PRITCHETT said, that the subject of discussion was certainly wide enough—Slavery, Liberty, Colonization, Abolition; on each head, so much might be said, that it was difficult to select merely what might serve for immediate use. He would proceed, however, at hap-hazard, to utter something on each point, not by way of instruction, but in the hope of eliciting some of that sympathy which at once refreshes and strengthens the utterer and the hearer of free thought. It was needless to say any thing about freedom, after

* It may not be improper here to state that the *FORUM* was appropriated to the use of the *Managers*, the *Orators*, and *strangers from a distance* invited upon it by the *Managers*; all the rest of the saloon was freely given up to the public, to occupy in such way as they might think proper, without any direction as to the manner in which the audience should arrange themselves. From a mistaken motive, however, and before the *Managers* entered the Hall, three colored men were invited, by a person from the country who was not even a stockholder, to take their seats on the *forum*. One of these was well known to us as an intelligent, worthy man; the other two were strangers. All three were requested to leave the *forum*, as they were neither *Managers*, *Orators*, nor invited by the *Managers*, and we could not vary our regulations in their favor, especially while a number of our stockholders were then standing below unable to procure seats. The same course would have been pursued had they been white men.

what had been proclaimed by him who so appropriately commenced the dedication of this Temple of Free Discussion and Pennsylvania Principles, by an oration on Liberty. Most splendid was that eulogium, or rather that *exposition* of liberty--and the unadorned exposition of her character is her own best praise; for "of all things that have beauty, liberty is most comely to man," as says Milton, and as the Most High taught the apostle to believe when he announced, as the chosen type of Jesus' Religion, Liberty, "the glorious *Liberty* of the sons of God." But, sir, I was disappointed, when the orator, after so skilful an exhibition of the blessings of Liberty, said he might hesitate to turn over his hand, to secure his freedom immediately to the slave, for fear of the blessing being an injury to the recipient. Sir, I am so fully convinced of the truth of the former part of the honorable gentleman's oration, that I should, or *ought* to be willing, for the attainment of so blessed a consummation, to turn over my hand, though, as a penalty for the deed, my arm should forthwith be burnt to the shoulder-socket.

As dearly as I love liberty, impartial liberty, for others as for myself, so cordially do I hate slavery—and is such hatred, perfect, determined, deadly hate, unchristian? No,—and the pulses of this audience throb the echo "no!" For I am not speaking to fools—and the Scriptures announce as the climacteric folly of the *fool*, that "he abhorreth *not* evil." And is not slavery, to quote its self-contradicting apologist, Rev. President Fisk, "evil, evil only, and evil continually?" It is the general contradiction of all truth and right and love. It scorns the maxims of political economy, runs counter to every fact and doctrine of ethics or intellectual philosophy, works havoc with every arrangement of social order and charity, spurns the commandments which were uttered amid the thunders of Sinai, rushes madly on the thick bosses of Jehovah's buckler, belies prophecy, and gnashes its teeth at the promises of the gospel. From the uttermost vastness of infinity to the most trivial truisms of every day life, it is ever more a wrong and a lie. While its portentous shadow blackens eternity with gloom, the common rules of grammar cry out against it. Every child, who cons his Murray or Gould at school, has learnt that a personal and compound personal pronoun must agree in person—that good grammar requires me to say "I myself" and "you yourself"—but slavery is an interminably reiterated fracture of Priscian's head. Its first principle is, that the slave shall not say "I myself," but "I yourself, massa." If we may parody the old song,

"When ilk a mon shall hae his ain,
The slave shall have *himself* again."

Now, sir, I would turn over my hand to have good grammar allowed throughout the Union.

Here some of our friends, whose regard for freedom is more curious than useful, may tell us that they are as much opposed to slavery as any one,—but the slaves should be sent home to Africa, the land of their fathers. In other words, they think the colored Americans should not be allowed to speak English grammatically outside of Africa. There are sundry objections to this plan of colonization. In the first place, it is impossible—in twenty years the Colonization Society has transported but one-twentieth of *one year's increase* of the slave population. This first objection, one would think, were enough—but, perchance, the friends of this plan may say that though "'tis not in mortals to command success, they will do more, they will deserve it." Will they allow us to hint that they will no more *deserve*, than they will command success. Their most sweet voices are frequently heard proclaiming as a collateral good to be attained, second only in import-

ance to the unimaginable blessing of having every dusky face out of sight, that the exile of colored Americans will Christianize and civilize Africa! This they assert, and, at the same time, denounce the proposed missionaries as the basest of the base. But, I forget, the voyage across the Atlantic will intervene between their departure and their holy work,—and what events of spiritual change may not transpire—what savor of salt may not be imparted to their souls under the salubrious influence of the sea air! But, in sober sadness, let us remember that jealousies and offences cannot but arise among the rival interests of the colony and the adjoining tribes. These prevail to such an extent that there have been wars already; and on founding a mission at Cape Palmas, to conciliate the natives, they were assured that the mission was an entirely separate interest from the Colony. Let us remember that America was *colonized* and the natives are *GONE*. Ah! we are answered, but here there was a difference of color; in Liberia the colonists are colored like the natives. A magnificient idea! but, alas, it hath not color enough. The Africans are black—the American colonists are black, brown, yellow, and some, by'r lady, considerably inclined to the pearl powder complexion of their ancestral pale-faces. Consequently, if they are as great fools in Africa as some are here, and quarrel for color, the colonists will not only be at war with the natives, but with one another. It is not difference of color, but rivalry of interest, the unavoidable conflict between civilization, however partial, and midnight barbarianism, that will ruin either the natives or the colony, or at best nullify the influence of the settlers for good to the neighboring tribes.

“But they should go back to their own country—to the land of their fathers,” is repeated in every tone, from the bitterest bass of hate to the mincing accents of puling sentimentalism. The land of their fathers! Where is that? or where is it not? England, Ireland, Scotland, France, Spain, and Germany, may, by this rule, advancee claims to the same man; who, to comply, would be induced to cry out with the witty blunderer of Erin, “Och! ihat I were a bird and could be in *two places at once*.” The plan is impracticable, the reasons for it absurd. Our colored friends need not fear its aecomplishment; but, alas, they have great cause to fear the *attempts* of colonizationists. The inevitable effect of these operations is to increase the prejudice which treads them down already. It is impossible for one man seriously to endeavor to procure even the voluntary removal of another, without fostering in his own heart a strong prejudice against that person. If he is anxious for his neighbor’s departure, he will rather mar than contribute to his comfort so long as he remains. Is it not even so? Does not the conduct of colonizationists towards our colored friends evince the truth of this proposition? Who shut the colored man out of school and college,—who pen him in seats the highest, if not most honorable, in the synagogue,—who tear down academies which are open to his reception,—who rob him of the elective franchise, as in this state,—who threaten the emancipated slave with renewed thralldom if he go not into exile, as in Maryland? Colonizationists. Why do they all this? As a colonizationist once remarked to me, “the fewer privileges they have here the more willing will they be to go to Liberia.” “With their own consent” mark ye! Why must they go to Liberia? Because there is a natural repugnance between the races, and if they remain in the same country they will amalgamate. Very odd, if true. That they will amalgamate under the influence of slavery, the South proves. That they will not where free, the North proves. The fact is, prejudice against *color* is not the difficulty. People tell us after all, that they “like the colored people very well, only they wish them to *keep their place*.” There is the rub. What is their place? A distant

one, not in location but in *condition*. Our aristocratic dames will ride with a black man beside them in their carriages in Broadway and Chestnut street; but he must be a servant, a menial, not an equal,—a coachman, but not Charles Gardner or Robert Purvis. On board our steamboats there are ranks of colored waiters *standing*, protruding their black hands before our faces on the table, handing the plates and carving the joints. All this proximity is well so long as they *stand*. But now comes a respectable colored gentleman to take his seat among the miscellaneous assemblage at the cabin table. Lo! what a commotion! The ladies, sweet souls, are in hysterics; the gentlemen are all in uproar, their very whiskers curling with wrath. But what is the matter? Listen to the united cry, “are we to have that nigger sit down with us? The colored man may hint, “Gentlemen, I saw colored men in the cabin *standing* by your sides, and I supposed that I might *sit*.” They answer, “True, but they were waiters, they were *in their place*.” “Well, gentlemen,” returns the colored man, “if your objections are merely to color, it is strange that the color standing is allowable, while it is a high misdemeanor for the color to sit;

‘Strange that there should such difference be,
‘Twixt tweedledum and tweedledee.’”

“Shut up, you nigger,” would probably be as conclusive and elegant an answer as our colonization exclusives could give. In fine, the colonization project is absurd, cruel, and impudent. What impudence to tell native Americans to clear out when they have distinctly said that they had no wish to go! The colored people are satisfied with the country—the abolitionists are willing for them to stay,—the colonizationists hate to live in the same land with them. Then let the colonizationists go to Liberia;—they are a disaffected faction.

How much better than all this unmanly folly are the doctrines of the abolitionists,—to put all under the equal protection of law, to pay the laborer his worthy hire, to give all men an equal chance to use the powers which nature and Providence have given them, to undo the bands of wickedness, to break every yoke,—ay, break short off, not rub down to a shaving by the gradual friction of a velvet glove, but to *break* every yoke and let the oppressed go free.

SPEECH OF ELDER F. PLUMMER.

MR. PRESIDENT:—What is the question before the Chair?

[He was informed that it was the relative claims of abolitionists and colonizationists, and was called forward to the platform. He continued:]

I do not know, sir, as I shall be entitled to address the Chair, as I am not a member of either the Abolition, or Colonization Society, and have never taken any active part with either, although I profess to be anti-slavery in sentiment.

[The Chair informed him that he was entitled to the floor, and told him to proceed. He then said:]

Sir, it was not my expectation to take any part in this discussion. I came here expecting to hear the master-spirits on both sides of this very important subject, so deeply interesting to our whole nation. But, sir, I have been disappointed, for, as far as I have heard, the discussion has been all on one side. Nor have those who have addressed the Chair, met my

views as to the most important difficulties in this great national evil. They have said much relating to the evils and horrors of slavery, which we do not question; but the grand difficulty is, in my opinion, that it is legalized by our national compact, and the slave is claimed as legal property. It has been said that a man, although he has a right to his own house, has no right to set it on fire. But, sir, I do not see that this figure is appropriate. Has the slaveholder set his house on fire? or has he gone beyond his legal right? I now ask, sir, for my own information, and call on abolitionists, in behalf of this assembly and of the nation, to say how far we have a right, legally and morally, to deprive the slaveholder of what he has honestly inherited? Shall we resort to force? Shall we put in jeopardy the slaveholder and the slave? Sir, let us pause and reflect whether some method cannot be suggested to liberate the slave, which will not injure the master.

Let us remember that the evils of slavery are not only felt by the slave, but also by the master; and in our sympathy for the slaves, do not let us forget the slaveholders, many of whom see and feel the horrors of slavery in traits in which we cannot. And let it never be forgotten that they are our brethren in a national point of view, and many of them are brethren in Christ.

Sir, I go for free discussion on all topics, and for all judicious efforts to ameliorate and improve the condition of man in all respects. But, sir, shall we hazard the life of the patient by the use of violent and destructive remedies? We admire the improvements of the age, conveyance by steam-boats and locomotives, but God deliver us from reckless engineers.

Sir, let us pause, solemnly pause, before we make any attempt which will jeopardise our union, the life of the master and that of the slave. I have looked, anxiously looked, for the speakers to show us the authority and method by which immediate emancipation can be effected. Let us always be sure that we are right, and then go ahead.

True, one speaker has said that Congress have the right, and could, if they would, abolish slavery immediately; but he gave us no proof of the correctness of that statement.

I have often wished that some gigantic mind in Congress would propose measures by which the millions of surplus funds of the nation should, instead of being retained for speculation and peculation, be devoted to the removal of slavery.

Sir, I have regretted to see the spirit manifested in this place against colonizationists. I speak not from feelings of opposition to the abolitionists, or of partiality to the colonizationists. I have no party views on this great subject, and trust that we are all anti-slavery, feel for the oppressed, and rejoice at witnessing any lawful and proper efforts for their relief.

As professing Christians, who pretend to worship the same God, and to journey to the same place, instead of uniting their energies to destroy their common foe, are, through a sectarian principle, using efforts to destroy one another; so, and I regret to say it, the colonizationists and abolitionists, instead of cooperating in the removal of the curse of slavery, are levelling their artillery against each other.

Sir, let us not retard our object, by indulging in hostile feelings, nor in being too sanguine in our own views, but in all benevolence pursue those measures in which the slaveholder and the whole nation can combine their will and ability to liberate the slave, and thus accomplish this very desirable object, and preserve the national union.

THIRD DAY—AFTERNOON SESSION.

THIS afternoon closed the Dedication of the Hall. The subsequent meetings were not under the direction of the Board of Managers, but of the respective bodies to whom the Hall was rented, and for the manner in which each was conducted the body holding it is alone responsible. The congregation at this meeting, as at most of the preceding, was very large, *between two and three thousand* persons being present. The speaker was ALVAN STEWART.

SPEECH OF ALVAN STEWART, OF UTICA, N. Y.

AMEN, and amen, have been shouted from the throats of the unthinking millions of this earth, as the mandates of tyranny were proclaimed, as the edicts of inhumanity were published to the world; while the lamentations of the oppressed have ascended night and day, as swift witnesses before the living God. These loud outcries of the injured against *unavenged cruelty*, have created epochs in the march of ages. At different periods of the world, there have been great *issues* formed between right and wrong, liberty and slavery, and on the determination of those issues have depended the stability or overthrow of empires, the rising and falling of nations.

The pages of history, divine or profane, are the recorded evidence, arguments, and facts of each generation as they have been summoned to share in the creation and decision of those issues. When the issue has been correctly framed, crime, ashamed of her own frightful progeny, has called in falsehood, with her open mouth, to deceive the weak and the thoughtless.

Truth has been insulted and clamored down by the roar of numbers, who have interrupted her narrative or insulted her for the humility of her dress, or derided her for want of those high-born relations which, in the shape of impudence, interest, superstition, obstinacy, and love of power, have confederated to impeach her by sneering at the simplicity of her statements, by undervaluing the force of her arguments, while they have sung praises to the highest notes of Falsehood, sworn its deformity was beauty, and the harsh grindings in the prison-house of its oppression were the symphonies of sympathizing humanity; yea, more, they chanted praises of honor and glory to its deductions, and sung anthems to its sophistries, and cried amen to its conclusions.

Honest error has often been a powerful antagonist of truth, and the only enemy whom truth assailed with compassion, and before whom truth had reason to tremble. For when sincerity, one of the darling attributes of truth itself, varnishes error, the judges of the issue sometimes mistake the armor of Achilles for the mighty form which it was made to protect.

What is right or what is wrong? Where are the boundaries that separate?

How far human arrangements can change the abstract wrong into an expedient right, or the abstract right, if asserted, into a wrong, are mighty

questions, settled in the early ages of the world, and thousands of times since; but they now seem to come forward as fresh questions, demanding a decision with all the eagerness of zeal, with all that gives weight to high pretension, and with an impatience that forbids delay, from the magnitude of the interests involved; so that our minds are compelled to become moral scales, to re-weigh and re-mark the mighty interests of humanity.

But these questions have been weighed and considered by Him who cannot err, who is the author of right, the enemy of wrong. His weights and measures are the enduring revelations of perfect wisdom. The delivered opinions of the Eternal came down to this world, while men were contending in the forum of philosophical definitions, groping in the twilight of their understandings, and wasting their lives in finding a standard of right in uninstructed conscience. The pity of Him whose home is immensity, who is from everlasting to everlasting, who placed the shining worlds on their great path-ways, and gave them a momentum which flying ages do not weaken, who knows each rood and inch between all the self-balanced globes as they rush round the skies in their untired race of ages,—of that God, who permits each one to travel its sublime and annual journey around the sun, was manifested in giving man a rule of action for time, eternity, forever, “LOVE THY NEIGHBOR AS THYSELF.” The law of gravitation of the moral universe!

Every departure from this eternal landmark of duty, however small, has been the parent of crime and human agony.

The first issue ever made between right and wrong, the holy liberty of conscience, and the brutal violence of oppression, was between the two first of woman born. While the younger employed moral weapons to vindicate his sentiments, such as prayer and petition, and went to God for strength, wisdom, and direction; the elder used the modern club-logic; he preferred the bludgeon to manly debate; to silence investigation was better than to convince; to murder his opponent, was easier than to answer his arguments. Cain was the founder of the brute-force system of logic, being the only method *then*, or *ever since* known by its admirers, of answering *unanswerable* arguments.

This mode of reasoning, like the extreme unction for the dying man, is not to be resorted to except in the distressing emergency of having no other mode by which to protect Folly from contempt, Obstinacy from rebuke, Ignorance from pity, and Crime from punishment. If Cain could have proved Abel in an error, then Abel might have died in his bed, at nine hundred years of age, or more. But because he could not, therefore he slew him. So we see the first witness called to establish truth died a martyr; and the morning of the new world was hung in black by the depravity of man.

The next great issue made up for everlasting remembrance, was between Noah and his family of eight souls, against the world,—of right against wrong. What, could eight persons be the only ones right, and the whole world wrong beside? It seems so. Truth is not always found keeping company with the multitude, leading armies, or seeking the shout of numbers.

But the last mountain top of the ante-diluvian world was covered with water, truth then being on board the floating ark, in the eight witnesses, on that ocean without shore or island. These eight human beings were the connecting links between two worlds; and lest their narrative should be denied in the coming profane ages of philosophic scepticism, the massive floors on which the ocean rolled, were torn up, and piled away on the tops

of mighty mountains, in monumental strata, on whose pages are written the history of a drowned world,—a record of God's judgment lithographed on the primal formations of the enduring rock !

But the most sublime and grand issue ever framed between guilty man and his Maker, on the trial of which such amazing consequences depended was, WHETHER MAN SHOULD BE THE PROPERTY OF MAN, OR THE SERVANT OF GOD ?—whether man should lose his charter in himself and become incorporated in another's self ?—whether a man should cease to have use for his mind and his body, so that another might take that mind and body and appropriate it to himself and extinguish all claim of the individual in and to himself ? This could not be permitted without denying God's interest and claim in each being whom he had created for His own will and pleasure. Therefore, as God had made man, he had a right to his own workmanship ; and having conferred on man certain high powers, life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness, which happiness consists in obeying his Creator's laws, this being could not abandon or surrender these rights to another human being, nor could another human being assume them,—rights, which in their nature could neither be surrendered by one, or assumed by another, because of God's interest in man as his Maker.—God had a claim on those unsurrenderable and unassumable rights—a mortgage on them which can never be extinguished in time or cancelled in Eternity.

Egypt was the theatre of this momentous issue, in the event of which every question affecting human liberty was involved, considered and determined. Who were the parties ? Haughty Egypt in the plenitude of her power, with a population of twenty millions, the schoolmaster of the world, the granary of mankind, the home of civilization ; whose proud cities opened and shut their hundred gates ; whose imperishable structures of monumental marble must have equalled in expenditure the united energies of the generations of the nineteenth century ; whose mountains for miles *inward* were penetrated and excavated with the silent palaces of the dead ; whose power brought from the cataracts of the Nile to the Delta, the Monolith temple of solid rock,—Egypt, with her acre-covering temples—with her artificial lakes, her giant sphinxes, her twenty pyramids, those piles of wonder where art seems to rival nature in her boldest work. And on the other hand two and a half millions of *Hebrew slaves* ; a nation of tasked bondmen, brickmakers under their task-masters and drivers.

Egypt was the oppressor ; two and a half millions of Hebrews were the oppressed slaves, and God the judge, avenger and deliverer. Never was there such a display of Almighty power, never since, the creation of this world, has the Arm of Omnipotence been more signally revealed than in this manifestation of His utter abhorrence of slavery, and His love of human liberty. He caused the mighty river of Egypt to run with blood from its upper cataracts to its seven mouths, and as the Mediterranean received the tribute of the Nile, it blushed at Pharaoh's insult to Jehovah, in presuming to hold man as a slave. The hail and lightning, the ice and fire leaped from their chambers in the clouds to the slave-insulted soil, to avenge the quarrel of the abused. The locusts forsook their sullen solitudes of whirling sands and in dark armies came riding on the winds to consume the products of the spoiler's fields. The murrain smote the cattle of the task-master ; and on that last dreadful night uprose the death-wail along the reedy margin of the Nile, and from the heart of the mighty cities, as the Angel of Death passed silently and unseen from house to house and struck down two and a half millions of the first-born of Egypt. Pharaoh, in the pride of human glory, said to himself, “ I will become the defender of Egypt's power against these slaves, my brickmakers, by whose unpaid

labor I have reared those imperishable structures, which will stand to the last day of time, exciting astonishment and commanding admiration from generation to generation; I WILL NOT LET THE PEOPLE GO.” The Almighty taught him the folly and crime of his presumption. To doubt the Deity’s hatred of slavery, is to deny the truth of this astonishing account. It is to deny the Old and New Testament. It is to deny our own nature—the unwritten law of conscience. It is to deny and despise all the cries and pleadings of our humanity. It is to deny our nature and very existence. It is to say there is no sin, that one thing is as right as another, stealing is as honest as labor, lewdness is the same as modesty, cruelty as kindness, robbery as benevolence, piracy as a purchase. To deny the crime of slavery is to say there is no right, no wrong, no justice, no injustice.

Behold the flying fugitives! The Red sea in their front, mountains on their right and left, and the uncounted hosts of Egypt in their rear. See the poor fugitives and their little ones in the pass of the mountains; overwhelmed with terror, they go to the banks of the sea, and it gathers its waters in walls—while the triumphant freedmen, with praises on their tongues, and in their hearts, turn round to behold the Almighty causing the Egyptian wheels to forsake their axletrees, and the wall of water to yield and cover up their task-masters forever!

A late traveller, of the last ten years, sent a pearl-diver down to examine the supposed path of the nation of fugitives, and discovered pieces of Egyptian armour and implements of war, attesting the truth of this highway in the deep, never travelled over but once.

These fugitive slaves had a cloud by day and a pillar of fire by night for their outstretched banner.

“ By day along the astonished lands
 The cloudy pillar glided slow,
 By night Arabia’s crimson sands
 Returned the fiery column’s glow.”

They were fed with food direct from the Almighty’s table for forty years in a land of emptiness and want, where the prowling hyena and gaunt wolf howled in the bitterness of hunger unpeased. The rock opened its flinty mouth, and sent its cooling waters after them. The Almighty, in scorn of human greatness, and to show himself no respecter of persons, made these despised, runaway slaves the honored recipients of the LAW of LAWS—the ten eternal orders of God inscribed with His fingers, and delivered to them, while the rocky heart of Sinai quaked and trembled with His thunders, and its summit shone with celestial brightness as the lightning blazed around its pinnacles, and, through the pauses of the storm, the voice of the great trumpet waxed louder and louder!

Thus these poor fugitives had the custodial care of the first Heaven-lent geography, which shows the path-way through which man must travel, in order to enter on the joys of that undiscovered country from which none return.

To them was entrusted God’s revelation, the living fountain from whose waters of truth all of the civilized nations of the earth have drawn the fundamentals of jurisprudence. Yes, these fugitive slaves were God’s librarians, and had the holy keeping of His laws, which have been the great moral light of this world.

But what was the treatment these oppressed and fleeing fugitives met with from the hands of the King of Edom,—the land of Idumea?

Here we have an awful demonstration of God’s detestation of a nation who could dare attempt to arrest or impede the progress of fleeing fugitive

slaves, who sought a passage through a neutral country to the land of freedom. For that crime the malediction of the Most High has brooded over the land of Idumea!

Oh! what a solemn fulfilment of prophecy! Look at Petra, the city of the Rock in the mountains—the wonderful capital of this Heaven-doomed land—this nest of one of the world's great empires, girded about with everlasting mountain barriers. Behold her theatres, temples, and catacombs, vieing with imperial Rome in the days of her Cæsars, cut from her granite mountains, with rocky roofs one thousand feet in thickness culminating above. Behold her mighty palaces without mortar, without joints, chiselled out of primeval rock,—perfect after the long lapse of centuries, as when first opened!

Yet this ancient abode of polished life, which felt the movings of a mighty ambition, has, for twenty centuries, been abandoned of God and forsaken of man, only tenanted by the obscene bird and loathsome serpent—the sole inmates of the palaces of kings and lodgers in the chambers of departed greatness. No man abides in this lone land, no man says this is my home. A land once red with the blood of the grape, and thronged with populous life, it has become a sterile and majestic solitude,—borne down by the withering curse of God, for the crime of opposing the escape of the fugitive Hebrew slaves from the land of the spoiler.

There stands, and will stand to the end of time, the witness, telling to each generation of the world as they flow down the long stream of ages, "here was once a crime committed by man against man, by a nation in prosperity against a nation of fugitive slaves flying in distress." The punishment was inflicted in the zenith of her glory, and she is the only country on the globe which has been depopulated from century to century, as an enduring testimonial of the Almighty's wrath. As the solitary traveller wanders over the ruins of Petra, he is alarmed as echo sends back her voice in answer to his footsteps from the lonely temple, the deserted palace, and silent catacombs; astonished he lifts his eye, surrounded by ever-during walls of rock, and beholds the only living being, an eagle, in the regions of the blue sky, revolving in his noontide gyrations over the doomed City of the Mountains.

The flight of the Hebrews from the house of bondage took place at a period when Egypt was the home of science,—the Gamaliel at whose feet the learned and inquiring of other nations sat. She was at the head of the families of the earth, and within her borders were locked up those discoveries which have since astonished mankind. In the contest between Israel and Egypt, therefore, it was enlightened strength contending against ignorant weakness. There was too much power to decide the question by reason and argument, on the side of the Egyptians, and too much feebleness on the part of the Hebrews. But we are somewhat struck at the superior refinement of the haughty slaveholders of Egypt, compared with those of the United States.

Pharaoh, as the representative of supreme power, tolerated Moses and Aaron with rights denied by an American Congress and Southern slaveholders, to wit, the rights of PETITION and FREE DISCUSSION. For this matter was discussed no less than seven or eight times in the palace of Egypt; and Pharaoh never denied the right of petition but once, and that was when he told Moses not to come before him again. But that was at the time when Moses had ceased to petition, as the business was lodged in the hands of the angel of death.

The next great issue was the advent of our Redeemer.

The issue was between religion and its counterfeit; between religion and liberty on one side, and idolatry and slavery on the other.

The Redeemer, the poorest man in Judea, and yet the very God, took upon himself the form of a servant,—the most despised form of our common humanity. The Redeemer came to lift up large masses of mankind in the shape of the poor, the imprisoned, the enslaved, the miserable, the ignorant, and place them on the summit level of our common humanity, and vindicate their relationship to God. And in the course of three centuries after he preached his sermon on the Mount, during which time ten generations came and crossed the bridge of human life, the truths of that sermon had grappled with principalities and powers, with prejudice, and idolatry, and slavery, which had grown sturdy by their hold on mankind for a thousand years, and had filled the Roman world with chiselled gods of men's device, while the unpaid slave groaned from the Appenines to the banks of the Euphrates, from the Seamaner to the Tweed, from the mountains of Mauritania to the dark-rolling Danube. At the end of three hundred years from the blessed Saviour's humanity, his holy principles had banished idolatry and slavery from the wide spread Roman world, with its one hundred and twenty millions of inhabitants.

But, oh! how often did the faggot burn,—did the martyr's blood flow, in defending the liberty of conscience and of person, before the world assented to these principles!

The next great issue to which the mind of Europe was summoned was the Reformation of the sixteenth century. Slavery and idolatry had come back to this world again. The contest again was between truth and falsehood.

The men of that generation made brick without straw; their substance was eaten out by ecclesiastical imposition; a midnight of despotism brooded over the faculties of the moral world. Slaves in a state of serfism or villanage, were groaning beneath the military pomp of the feudal system.

The human mind rose up from the sleep of a thousand years, and shook from itself the accumulated errors of ages, and broke those bandages in which the independence of the mind and body had been swathed.

From great issues and mighty trials like these, have been drawn all the truth, the religion, and liberty which have blessed this world.

But hypocrisy, with ruin and darkness rioting in its heart, entered the portals of the church, and put on the cast-off livery worn by ruined angels, when their guilty ambition expelled them from the realms of light; and, professing veneration for God's eternal witnesses, the Old and New Testaments, these impostors have declared, that these witnesses spake that which they did not,—that these witnesses declared Slavery was an institution of Heaven, sanctioned by the God of justice and mercy!

These baneful perversions of Divine truth have been employed for the most malignant purposes, so that Southern professors of religion and professed ministers of Christ pretend to get their authority to rob the slave of himself, his mind, his body, his wife, and children, from the Bible!!

North America, in her political behavior is a contradiction in terms. She was the land of refuge for the oppressed. Corrupt Europe, of the seventeenth century, drove from her bosom her most pious, noble, and independent sons, to search for liberty of conscience in the howling wilderness of the Occidental world. The Puritan of New England, the Catholic of Maryland, the Episcopalian of Virginia, and the Friends of Pennsylvania, claimed, like the Hebrews in Egypt, the right of making the wilderness their temple to worship God. Yes, they leaped the barriers of the ocean's solitudes, and nestled down amongst the wild aborigines to enjoy the liber-

ties of body and mind, and escape oppression. Oh, horrid solecism! that such a land should now become the grand rendezvous of slaves, outnumbering those of any other country in the civilized world.

The year 1776 astonished the world with a new issue, which reached up and down and all around the circle of humanity. This issue was tendered to the oppressors of mankind, throughout the world, by the patriotic Congress of the United States, who threw in the teeth of tyrants, feudalists, monarchists, the inheritors of power, the primogeniturs, the kidnappers, slaveholders, man-despisers, and man-haters, these words of mighty import: "*All men are created equal, and are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights, among which are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness;*" and to vindicate the truth of this proposition, the people of these United States poured out their blood like water for seven years.

Philosophers, philanthropists, politicians, and jurists, had written tomes and folios of metaphysical musings and abstractions, to settle the starting point of man's existence,—the rights of one as compared with those of another in coming into the compact of civil society.

But in going up to a remote antiquity, to learn what principles governed those lawgivers who laid the foundations of civil polity for those old nations in Europe, fable occupies the place of veritable history, and history teems with its thousand falsehoods, and bewilders the mind without instructing the judgment, and leaves the inquirer at the horizon's distance from certainty, if not from truth.

The feudal system, the doctrine of primogeniture,—that executive, legislative and judicial powers, were matters of inheritance,—may be considered the elementary doctrine of Europe.

That men are born equal, is a great moral proposition, coming from God, and as old as man, and grows out of His own eternal benevolence, by which it is said that God is no respecter of persons.

The doctrine of primogeniture is that by which the oldest child, being male, is born to the inheritance of the whole landed estate of a father or relative, and the other children of no part; by which the oldest child of a king, or prince, or duke, earl, or noble, however weak, is born to the inheritance of executive, legislative, and judicial power, while the son of the peasant, however cultivated by learning, or however superior by force of an exalted genius is only born to obey.

Many of the members of the House of Lords, in England, inherit their seat to legislate for their countrymen, by the same law by which they hold their fathers' estates. They inherit both. They inherit judicial power, wise or foolish, as a court of *dernier* resort, to reverse the decisions of the chancellor and twelve judges of England, on a statute which these members of the House of Lords inherited power to make. In England, nothing but idiocy, insanity, or crime, can deprive some four or five hundred Englishmen from being law-makers and judges in the last resort; and that, too, without the express consent of a living man in England manifested in their favor, but barely by inheritance.

The feudal system, primogeniture, and that certain persons inherited the executive, judiciary, and legislative powers of their country, and also inherited the allegiance and obedience of the nation, have been the fundamental laws of most European countries from the downfall of the Roman Empire to this hour.

Look at England and her colonies of fifty millions of inhabitants, and her East India possessions of one hundred millions more, making one hundred and fifty millions of human beings, or one-fifth of the human race,

at the head of which, by force of the above doctrine, as Queen, is a young boarding-school, piano-playing girl, eighteen years of age, with power to declare war and deluge the world in blood, make peace, veto the united Legislation of Lords and Commons in Parliament assembled, to direct fleets and lead armies.

The doctrine of this world on the 3d of July, 1776, was, that some persons are created superior to others, inheriting the right to make, judge of, and execute laws, which the rest are created to obey.

But before the sun went down on the 4th of July, 1776, the mighty moral discovery was proclaimed from this very city, that “all men are created equal, and endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights, among which are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness; that to secure these rights, governments are instituted among men, deriving their just power from the consent of the governed.”

Such men as a Milton, a Sydney, and a Russell, in their musings upon the rights of humanity, had caught glimpses of this truth—shadowy and undefined like the vision which passed before the face of Eliphaz the Temanite,—a spirit passed before them, “but the form thereof was not discerned.” They had prophet revelations of the dawning of a better day. Looking down the vast future, they beheld on those plains in the land of the setting sun, beyond the wilderness of waters, where Hesperus trembles on the borders of the circling heavens, man in full possession of the great charter of his rights.

This mighty discovery is but a **DEFINITION OF MAN**, as considered in relation to every other man. But no great politician or philosopher in the European world dared make this definition known, because it would have been high treason against the fundamental laws of European society. This definition would have brought to the block the best man in Europe, as the reward of his temerity.

The three great truths, or political discoveries, are—1st. Equality at birth. 2d. The universal endowment of the right to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. 3d. That all governments should be made to secure these high interests. Therefore, all governments must be made by those whose interests they are intended to secure. Well might the politicians, philosophers, and philanthropists, believe the philosopher’s stone had at last been discovered; and that the signers of the Declaration of Independence had been permitted to ascend, like Moses, into the Mount of God, to discover, from a loftier altitude, the relations of man to man. Good men cried out in ecstasy, from every corner of the earth where the human mind was not so degraded as to have *forgotten* the loftiness of its lineage.

The new and joyful era had arrived, in which the governed, to protect his liberty, his life, and pursuit of happiness, made and created the governor. **THIS IS A REPUBLICAN FORM OF GOVERNMENT.** The purchase money of this truth was paid in blood, which flowed from the free hearts of our fathers. Oh, costly definition of human liberty! The assertion of this great definition of man, in his social state, is, by force of its terms, the abolition of all slavery, wherever the definition is honored or respected.

But with us this definition of Human Rights is, practically, but an empty abstraction, instead of being the very life of our republicanism?

To tolerate slavery a single year in one of these states, after this Declaration of Independence, was a base hypocrisy, a violation of our engagements to mankind, and to God. “*And for the support of this Declaration,*” said they, “with a firm reliance on the protection of Divine Providence, we mutually pledge to each other our lives, our fortunes, and our sacred honor.”

This awful and solemn *promise*, made in behalf of liberty, to all persons in this land, in the presence of mankind and the great Jehovah, in that awful moment of a nation's agony and peril, stands *unredeemed, uncancelled, and unsatisfied*; sixty-one years and three hundred and fifteen days have gone to join the years and days beyond the flood; every year, every month, yea, every day and hour, have gone to the Judge of all the earth, clamoring, long and loud, for the execution of this *vow*.

The issue of 1776 was not alone between the governments of the old world, and their children, the colonies of the new. This issue, tendered by the framers of the Declaration of 1776, was done not only for the United States; but as the representatives of human nature oppressed, their document was the property of both Americas, and of the New World. Liberty for all is demanded; labor in all is honorable; tyranny is every where odious; kidnapping and stealing men and their labor is the essence of sin and meanness. Look at the products of their issue. Behold thirteen of the United States free from slavery!

Six empires on this continent have pronounced that the color of a man's skin and his liberty have no relation to each other, and that all men are created equal and free, to wit,—Mexico, New Granada, Central America, Venezuela, Chili, and Peru. These blood-bought countries have started the great journey of liberty and independence, with slavery abolished throughout their great domains. In fact, the continent is an abolition continent; and Catholic countries, in the march of Liberty, have gone beyond this land of boasting Protestantism.

Under the glorious issue, framed by the Fathers of Independence, that all men are created equal, the bondmen of Massachusetts, of Connecticut, of New York, of Pennsylvania, and of New Jersey, have thrown down their broken yokes, as the trophies of the great definition, and the shout of Freedom which burst forth and rolled in thunders through the unmeasured prairies of the West, swept over the Rocky Mountains, and Mexico caught the joyful sound, and declared all men for ever free in the land of Montezuma.

The white, the black, the red, joined in the chorus: ALL MEN ARE CREATED EQUAL. Yes, five empires more heard the thrilling sounds, and from the lonely mine-digger of the cavern-worlds beneath the bed of the Pacific, to the solitary shepherd on the snow-clad Cordilleras, and from the Mexican Gulf to the ever-blazing fires of the Andes, as the eternal truth went up the mountains and rolled over the pampas solitudes of the South, and flowed down the mighty rivers, all heard the words of resurrection and of life, and from the trance of ages stood up in the primeval sovereignty of MEN!

St. Domingo heard that man was born free and created equal, and, at the end of three centuries of slavery, stood erect,—a nation of freemen, manufactured out of goods and chattels. England, in the days of George the Third, paid four hundred millions of dollars to destroy *our* definition of man, and in the reign of William the Fourth the same nation, fifty-seven years after, paid one hundred millions of dollars to purchase it for eight hundred thousand slaves in their West Indies. Those new lexicographers who overturned the governments of the new world by the power of a *definition*, and cut the bands of trans-atlantic connection, and turned the world upside down, and unlocked suffering humanity and delivered it from its prison-house, if they could be summoned from the long dreamless sleep of their graves, would be overcome with astonishment to find thirteen states of this republic still clinging to slavery with a death-grasp; and that their declaration, which had driven slavery from all other parts of the continent, was unable to deliver two and a half millions of the most wretched slaves which the sun ever shone upon. These fathers, summoned from their graves,

might well inquire what is the cost of this refusal by Southern men to acknowledge our definition of man.

And what would be the answer? The derision and collected scorn of an insulted world—the loss of liberty of speech, and the freedom of the press, and of conscience—too cowardly to discuss slavery, and afraid of the truth, a loss of character for bravery and moral courage—loss of the benefit of the personal industry of the whites, that being considered dishonorable; while to rob, steal, commit adultery, and covet, are virtues—the South by slavery, making their wives, the white women, miserable—the slave losing the benefit of the Bible—the whites, by amalgamation with their slaves, obtaining the privilege of selling their own children, brothers and sisters of selling their own brothers and sisters—the fear of assassination and insurrection—large sections of exhausted slave-lands, with a curse of perpetual sterility upon them—a universal brutifying of the colored man's mind—universal concubinage—reducing two and a half millions of equals to beasts and chattels—ferocity, murder, duelling, called “chivalry”—the countless murders committed by slavery during the lapse of two hundred years, yet unatoned for and unavenged—the white masters living under the standing charge that all their wealth, their daily gains, the livings and subsistence of Congress men, judges, governors, church-members, men and women, are made up and obtained by daily robberies and larcenies, stamped with the infinite meanness of inflicting assaults and batteries on the slaves, their natural equals, to compel them to give their masters an opportunity of stealing the fruits of another's industry—thirteen states living by petit larcenies. The acme of human glory, in relation to man's elevation, and the lowest depth of his guilty debasement, manifested in the same country!

In the old world men inherited, as property, the three great departments of power, to wit the Legislative, Judicial and Executive; while in the slave states of the new world two hundred and fifty thousand irresponsible despots inherit and own, not only all the political power of two million five hundred thousand slaves, but inherit and own their bodies—the fearful and wonderful workmanship of God—immortal chattels, celestial merchandise.

The slaveholder's practice tells God He made an undue share of immortal mind, and it is his (the slaveholder's) business to *re-adjust* His highest work, by increasing the brute creation, in diminishing the immortal. The slaveholder, therefore, *un-mans*, and reduces to *things*, beings a little lower than angels. The same slaveholder would have laid his wicked hands on angels, and impressed them into his service, if he could.

Behold thirteen states of the American Republic, legislating for the division of stolen goods, enacting that stealing is a patriarchal institution, and adultery sanctioned by the Bible—passing the most formidable laws against any person who shall call them stealers of men, of women and of children. The brute force system surrounds and protects their awful larcenies upon *mankind*.

I will present another rather unamiable view of slavery.

A South Carolina slaveholder has a son by his slave, in his own likeness. That son must be deprived of the Bible. The father employs the brutal lash upon his son's body, to make him work harder and earn more, that his father may steal those earnings, and with them send a missionary across the diameter of the globe, to tell the heathen, if they do not repent, they will be lost. We will suppose a heathen in India repents, and out of gratitude becomes a missionary himself to South Carolina to warn the people of their sins, heathenism and slavery. But oh! the Indian missionary would be murdered, by Lynch Law, for teaching the slave and master the same

doctrines, on their own soil, which the master at the expense of making his son a slave and a heathen at home, scourged and imbruted, had obtained means, to send to this very heathen in the old world. What would East India Christians think of South Carolina ethics, morality, or religion?

But the adversaries of the great truth of man's equality at birth, have made new discoveries in behalf of falsehood and against liberty, viz., that slavery is too powerful and sensitive to be assailed with the tongue or the pen of free discussion. There are two divisions of the no-tongue, no-pen, no-discussion men. One party admits slavery an evil, but its constitutional entrenchments are so deep and wide, and it is so awfully dangerous to speak or write against the institution of slavery, that they are willing to make an assignment of the liberty of speech, the right of petition, the power of the pen, the liberty of conscience, to the slaveholders, as a standing tribute, to be paid by the men of the North division of the confederacy, for the privilege of not being made field slaves for the present; for the privilege of looking on the same sun at the same time; of beholding the same waxing and waning moon; although the fruit of this dreadful assignment has been wet with the blood of ten thousand annual murders, or twenty-seven daily ones, for each of the sixty years gone by, from malignant passion, by violence and over-working and under-feeding.

The other division contends it is a Bible institution, a State institution, and a corner stone of the Federal Union; and further, that no man, woman or child, shall deny these propositions, but with the penalty of death, with or without law.

This last division of men are the head men and master builders in the Bastile of slavery, while those of the first division are the mere ~~HOD-CARRIERS OF SLAVERY~~,—the docile creatures at the North, who are willing to forego their humanity, their intellectual liberty in themselves; and if they, as Northern men, are willing to forego so much, they can see no reason why the slaves, for the benefit of our blessed Union, ought not, *as good republicans*, to be willing to forego life, liberty, wife, children, and endure stripes, hunger, nakedness, ignominy, and reproach, from generation to generation. Ay, these good patriots of the North can see no reason, why two million five hundred thousand slaves ought not to be content to be stript of all things, and lashed over every mile of the journey of life, to furnish the cement, made of sweat, tears, and blood, which binds the North and South together?

To combat such weather-beaten heresies and time-honored presumptions of slavery, and rebuke the craven spirit of its apologists, is the reason we have come together to dedicate this temple to Liberty. In the thirty-eighth year of the nineteenth century, we find it necessary in America, the home of the oppressed, in both senses of the word, to erect a temple of Free Discussion, where the philanthropists of this generation may meet for high and holy communion with the God of Freedom, and beseech His aid in the emancipation of the slave!

Yes, in a land on whose door-posts and gates liberty is inscribed, and among a people in whose mouths liberty and equality find so permanent an abode—in such a land this edifice is necessary, in order to welcome humanity and liberty to a home *they may call their own*. What will the slaveholder think as he passes this temple built for the deliverance of his despised slaves, for whom he never built a school house, nor scarce a church?

What an array of accusations shall throng the slaveholder's guilty memory as he looks upon this building, every brick of which is a bitter reproach to him? The mortar of the wall cries like an unappeased ghost

against him. The foundation stones shall tell him they are softer than his heart.

To this spot the pilgrims of humanity will come to worship God, in the land of the setting sun.

As I entered your city, thought I, here is the peculiar home of the slave; here are the descendants of Penn, the place where all men were declared to be born equal. Methought, in a sort of reverie, I saw a band of fugitive slaves flying from Maryland, wet with the swimming of rivers, faint with hunger; their tattered clothing told me they were the unpaid laborers of the wretched South. They sought the place where they might tell the history of their wrongs. But the doors of the noble Roman Catholic pile of architectural grandeur were shut against them; they went to the Methodists' chapel, because their discipline was written by John Wesley, who loved the slave; but they were answered "our Bishops cannot listen to the tales of slaves; it is a political question, we cannot unite church and state;"—to the Baptists, but they could not think of giving offence to their Georgia brethren; to the Episcopalians, but the man in canonicals said, "it was his pleasure and his pride to say, his church had never been affected by ultraism;"—they turned to the Presbyterians, who would have opened their church, as they said, "but from fear of disobligeing a majority of the next General Assembly, who might want their house in which to denounce the abolitionists;" but directed them to the Quakers, who had always been their friends, and to their sympathies they commended them. To the Friends they bent their faltering and wretched steps—but were told "they had always been their friends, and neither ate nor wore the slave's productions, but hoped no stronger test would be required of them, for as to opening their meeting houses to listen to the story of their wrongs, they did not feel free to do it."

Oh, miserable fugitives!—They have run the round of sectarian church-humanity; none have bidden them welcome. "Let us" they said, "go to the Hall of Independence, and see if the ghosts of Hancock, and Rush, and Franklin still hover there?" But the door of that old Hall was barred and bolted by a generation *who knew not Joseph*. They were told "it will not do to talk about your scourged backs, broken hearts, unpaid labor, severed families, ravished wives, and murdered sons; *that is a part of the compact*; and if we of the North should listen to you, the two hundred and fifty thousand slaveholders would knock this Union into fragments, so there would not be enough left of our common country to make a school district. Get you gone, there is no place for you here."

They have turned away in despair. But what sudden change of joy is passing over their sad countenances? They have heard of this Hall—this Temple of Liberty built for the very purpose of giving a hearing to the wrongs of the afflicted, those who have none to help, those about to perish! And here we are, thank God! this day, in the first temple ever erected to the memory and redress of the slave's wrongs, since this world began!—This is a new place under the sun. It is pity's home, the abode of enlightened humanity.

This is a temple dedicated to the insulted and outraged of our land. This will be their future court and senate house, where their hitherto untold wrongs shall come up in holy remembrance before God, while the means for their deliverance shall be considered in the ample range of free discussion, unfettered by priest, deacon, people, or trustees. No house was ever erected for a more noble or glorious purpose—there is not one on whose roof the sun of Heaven shines, from the Chinese temple of a hundred bells to the pagoda of India, from the mosque of St. Sophia

to St. Paul's, from the cathedral of Milan to that of Westminster, around which the sympathies of noble hearts and the prayers of the poor will gather, as around this Hall dedicated to the Rights of Man !

This is the home of the stranger, the resting-place of the fugitive, the slave's audience-chamber. Here the cause of the slave, the Seminole, and the Cherokee shall be heard. Here, on this rostrum, the advocates of holy justice, and Heaven-descended humanity, shall stand and plead for poor insulted man ; here with boldness shall they untwist the guilty texture of those laws which from generation to generation have bound men in the dungeons of despair. Here, too, shall criminal expediency be hung up to a nation's scorn and the world's contempt ; that expediency which adjusts political balances with the tears and blood of slaves, or sees a nation made homeless and exiled beyond the Mississippi for the purpose of securing its golden mines. Here shall the good cause come, though excluded from sectarian churches ; here the despised form of *shrunken humanity* swells beyond the measure of its chains, as it ascends and seats itself beneath this dome, and feels itself enlarged by surrounding compassion.

This Temple of Liberty, I trust, will stand as a monument of honor to its founders, a standing reproach to the generation of this country in the thirty-ninth year of the nineteenth century—a generation, whose House of Representatives, in Congress, could resolve that all petitions on the subject of slavery should lie on its table, “unread, unprinted, unREFERRED, undebated, and unconsidered,”—a generation, who, in a fundamental act of constitutional and organic law, could strike from its roll of voters, in the primary assemblies, forty thousand freemen, because of their complexion,—a generation whose moral cowardice, only exceeded by their deliberate treachery to the rights of man, forced a necessity upon the true lovers of man and worshippers of God to erect this building, as a home where Truth might commune with her admirers, Patriotism with her followers, and Humanity with her friends.

Let this Hall be like a moral furnace, in which the fires of free discussion shall burn night and day, and purify public opinion of the base alloy of expediency, and all those inversions of truth, by which first principles are surrendered in subserviency to popular prejudice, or crime !

Let the gratitude of every lover of his country be expressed towards the gentlemen, who, in erecting this building, have in the most solemn manner rebuked a guilty age. As brick after brick shall moulder away, may the coming generations of mankind furnish men who shall restore the perished brick, the time-worn stone, and wasted wood of this temple, until wrong and crime shall be banished from our country, and the eye of the Angel of Freedom, gazing over its vast extent of territory, from the St. Croix to the Mexican Gulf, and from the Atlantic to the Pacific, looks down upon no slave !

WHEN the speaker had taken his seat a person rose, by the name of EDWARDS, a stranger to us, and asked permission to correct an error into which some of the speakers, during the Dedication, had fallen. He said he was not a Roman Catholic, but he believed them to be as much the friends of Liberty as the other denominations of Christians ; and could point to individuals in Great Britain, belonging to that sect, who had been very active in the anti-slavery cause. It was, therefore, unfair to imply, as he thought some of the speakers had done, that the Roman Catholics

were opposed to freedom. Upon this, remarks were made by a number of persons ; and, among other things, it was stated that the churches of the Roman Catholics were not disgraced by negro-pews, but that the different members of the human family met together there in worship without regard being paid to “the hue of their skin or the curl of their hair.” ALVAN STEWART said this was new to him ; and if it was a fact, it was very creditable to that denomination. He hoped it would be remembered by the abolitionists. For his part he disclaimed any intention of impeaching the character of the Roman Catholics.

A few remarks were then made by E. C. PRITCHETT, upon the grounds of hope that the anti-slavery cause will soon triumph ;—stating that the slaveholders will be unable to resist the truth, and besides that they will soon find themselves borne along by the more powerful tide of public opinion. He was followed by C. C. BURLEIGH, who, in a single sentence, stated that he also felt assured of the success of abolitionism, but that his assurance was founded on the power of truth, and not of public opinion. He denied that the latter was the more powerful. PRITCHETT explained, and added some remarks to prove that public opinion, when once directed against slavery, would be irresistible.

WILLIAM H. BURLEIGH then rose and said, he hoped something substantial might be done for the poor Cherokees, to whom allusion has been made this afternoon, and who are about to be expelled on the 23d instant from their homes by the armed force of the United States. As some resolutions on this subject have been prepared, he hoped they would now be offered.

The following preamble and resolutions were then read and adopted. And we rejoice to say that, out of an audience of between two and three thousand persons, nearly all of whom voted, there were only *three*, we believe, who responded in the negative ! *This act of mercy and of Christian benevolence FINISHED THE DEDICATION of the Hall.*

“At this time, when the liberties of a noble, but unfortunate race are about to be cloven down by the cupidity of an avaricious people,—when a stain is about to be cast upon our national escutcheon, which the tears and regrets of after ages will never be able to remove,—it becomes the duty of all the friends of Humanity, to raise their voices against a measure which would thus entail disgrace upon this country, and ruin upon its aboriginal inhabitants. Therefore,

“*Resolved*, That we do unequivocally disapprove, and indignantly condemn, the attempt about to be made by the United States’ Government, for the forcible removal of the Cherokee nation.

“*Resolved*, That a copy of the foregoing Preamble and Resolution be forwarded to our Representatives in Congress, to the President of the United States, and the Governor of our Commonwealth.”

The above resolutions were passed on the 16th. On the 22d the President of the United States sent a message to Congress, (accompanying a conciliatory communication, dated “May 18th,” addressed by the Secretary of War to the Cherokee Delegation,) in order that such measures might be adopted by Congress “as are required to carry into effect the benevolent intentions of the government toward the Cherokee *nation*,” and which, it was hoped, would “induce them to remove peaceably and *contentedly* to their new homes in the West.”

We have not the vanity to suppose these resolutions produced either the message or the communication alluded to, but we do believe they were timely and proper ; and we rejoice that the last act in the Dedication of the Pennsylvania Hall was an unequivocal testimony against the cruelty, frauds, and injustice practised against the persecuted and suffering Indian.

IN the account of the meetings held in Pennsylvania Hall given thus far, we have confined ourselves to those which were held under the direction of the Managers, and which constituted the Dedication. The Lecture-room, however, was occupied on the preceding day by the "Anti-Slavery Convention of American Women," who also occupied the Saloon during a part of the succeeding day. Under the account of the next day's meetings we shall give the minutes of the proceedings of the Convention just named, from the commencement of its session up to the time of the fire, as published by that body.

The Pennsylvania State Anti-Slavery Society for the Eastern District, also, held two meetings in the Saloon this day. The minutes of these meetings have been published in the "Pennsylvania Freeman," a weekly paper of this city—the organ of that Society. They are as follows:

PROCEEDINGS OF THE STATE SOCIETY.

A meeting of the Pennsylvania State Anti-Slavery Society for the Eastern District, was held in the large Saloon of the Pennsylvania Hall, May 16, 1838, at eight o'clock, A. M.

Abr'm. L. Pennock, one of the Vice-Presidents of the Society, called the meeting to order, when, on motion, Lewis C. Gunn, Wm. A. Garrigues, and James Rhoads, were appointed Secretaries.

On motion, it was

Resolved, That members of Anti-Slavery Societies auxiliary to the State Society, but who have not been appointed delegates to this meeting, be received as such.

Resolved, That all strangers, members of Anti-Slavery Societies, in attendance, be invited to take seats as corresponding members.

Portions of the minutes of the First Annual meeting of the Society held at Harrisburg, January 15th, last, were then read.

On motion of Wm. H. Burleigh,

John W. Leeke, of Chester County, was invited to take a seat as a corresponding member.

The Report of the Executive Committee for the Eastern District was read, and, on motion, adopted.

On motion of Samuel Webb, it was

Resolved, That a large edition of the same be printed, and circulated in every part of the state, under the direction of the Executive Committee.

Peter Wright, William Jackson, Nathan Stem, George Sellers, Samuel Webb, and James Wood, were appointed a Finance Committee, to take into consideration the amount of money necessary to be raised during the ensuing year.

John G. Whittier read a statement of the number of societies which had reported themselves auxiliary to the State Society, and requested persons in attendance to furnish Joseph Healy (the agent of the Pennsylvania Freeman) with the names of all other societies not reported, also the date of their organization, number of members at that time and at the present, and the names of the President, Corresponding Secretary, and Recording Secretary of each.

William Harned, Lewis C. Gunn, and Samuel D. Hastings were then appointed a committee to confer with the Convention of American Women, the Requited Labor Convention, and the Managers of the Pennsylvania Hall, relative to holding meetings during the remainder of the Present week.

The following resolution, adopted by the American Anti-Slavery Society at its last stated meeting, relative to the relations of the Parent Society and its auxiliaries, was referred to Lewis C. Gunn, John G. Whittier, Wm. C. Bradley, Joseph Janney, James W. Weir, Lindley Coates, Alan W. Corson, Wm. H. Johnson, and James Fulton, jr., for consideration.

Resolved, That it be recommended to such state or other auxiliaries as are disposed to take the charge of the Abolition cause within their respective fields, to make arrangements with the Executive Committee of this Society, *guaranteeing* to our treasury such stated payments as may be judged reasonable, and then assume within their own limits the entire direction of lecturers and agents in forming local societies, collecting funds, circulating memorials, and establishing libraries; and that this Society will not send its agents to labor for these objects in such states as carry out this plan, except in concurrence with the State Executive Committee."

On motion,

Resolved, That when we adjourn, we adjourn to meet this afternoon at two o'clock.

Wm. A. Garrigues, Wm. H. Scott, Benjamin S. Jones, James Rhoads, and Dr. Isaac Parrish, were appointed a committee to prepare and arrange suitable business for the Society.

The Society adjourned.

Afternoon Session.—Vice-President Lindley Coates was called to the Chair.

As a considerable number of delegates had arrived since the morning session, and taken their seats, it was, on motion,

Resolved, That the business committee appointed this morning be discharged and a new one appointed in its place.

The following named persons were then appointed to that duty, viz.:— Benjamin Lundy, James Fulton, jr., Simon Hawley, Joshua Dungan, Alexander Graydon, George Sellers, Lindley Coates, Samuel M. Painter, Benjamin Bowne, Joseph S. Pickering, John Thomas, Hugh Gilmore, Samuel D. Hastings, Alan W. Corson, Mahlon Murphey, Frederic A. Hinton, and James M'Crummell.

Samuel Webb offered the following resolutions:

Resolved, That we will neither vote for, nor support the election of, any man to any legislative office whatever, who is opposed to the immediate abolition of slavery.

Resolved, That we recommend all societies auxiliary to this Society, to pass a similar resolution.

Resolved, That every abolitionist, who has a right to vote, be earnestly and affectionately recommended to carry his abolition principles to the polls, and that we cause our petitions to be heard through the medium of the ballot-box.

Alvan Stewart, of Utica, N. Y., eloquently advocated the passage of these resolutions.

John G. Whittier offered the following as a substitute, viz.:

Resolved, That we hold our right of suffrage sacred to the cause of freedom—and that those candidates for office who are opposed to the abolition of slavery within the jurisdiction of Congress—who encourage, or in any way sustain mob-law, in its attempts to put down the freedom of speech, and of the press—and who are in favor of disfranchising the colored citizens of the state, are unworthy to represent freemen, and, whatever may be their party or pretensions, **SHALL NOT HAVE OUR VOTES**.

The consideration of these resolutions was made the order of the day for Friday morning next, 18th inst., when the Society adjourned until that time, to meet at half past seven o'clock.

LEWIS C. GUNN, *Secretary*.

THIRD DAY—EVENING MEETING.

DURING the day, application was made to the Managers by a gentleman, who was one of a committee of arrangements, for the use of the Saloon this evening "for a public meeting, to be addressed by Angelina E. G. Weld, Maria W. Chapman, and others." At the time, we understood the meeting was to be one of the Anti-Slavery Convention of American Women, then in session in this city; and in our communications to the Mayor and Sheriff we so stated it. But we have since ascertained that many of the members of that Convention disapproved of the public addresses of women to promiscuous assemblies, and that, therefore, the meeting was not called or managed by them as a Convention, but by a number of individuals whose views were different, and who were anxious that such a meeting should be held.

Long before the time for the meeting to commence, the Hall was *thronged*; and hundreds, if not thousands, went away, unable to obtain access. Notwithstanding the immensity of the congregation, there was but little confusion in the building, and that soon subsided, although frequent volleys of stones were thrown against the windows, and some disorganizers within made repeated efforts to frighten the audience. The firmness and self-possession of the speakers could not fail to excite admiration, and tended greatly to preserve the order of the meeting. The first speaker was WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON.*

REMARKS OF WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON.

HE commenced his remarks by quoting, in justification of his plainness of speech respecting slavery and slaveholders, the admirable defence made by Martin Luther under circumstances, as he said, somewhat analogous, namely—that almost all men condemned the tartness of his expressions; but he was of opinion that God would have the deceits of men thus powerfully exposed; for he plainly perceived that those things which were softly dealt with in this corrupt age, gave people but light concern, and were presently forgotten. If at any time he had exceeded the bounds of moderation, the monstrous turpitude of the times had transported him. Nor did he transcend the example of Christ, who, when he had to deal with people of like manners, called them sharply by their proper names—such as, an adulterous and perverse generation—a brood of vipers—hypocrites—children of the Devil, who could not escape the damnation of hell. The crime of slaveholding is so atrocious, so contrary to every principle of humanity and every law of justice, so terrible in its results, and so impious in its claims, that

* As this gentleman has been accused by some of the newspaper editors of this city, and by others, who know not whereof they affirm, and care not whether they utter truth or falsehood, of having branded Washington as a robber and a man-stealer, in his addresses in the Hall, we here contradict the report unequivocally, and pronounce it absolutely false. If his addresses were not furnished, to satisfy the unbelieving, we could appeal with confidence to all who heard him, to bear witness against his accusers. Neither in the Hall, nor on any other occasion, as he himself says, in referring to the charge, has he meddled with the memory of Washington in the manner falsely ascribed to him. The fact is, our warfare is with the living, not with the dead.

no language can properly describe it. An able reviewer has forcibly said, "it excites ideas of abhorrence beyond our capacity of expression, and must be the subject of mute astonishment and speechless horror."

I have risen to occupy but a very small portion of the evening. There are other speakers to follow me, gifted in intellect, and capable of pleading the cause of the bondmen and **BONDWOMEN** in our land far more effectually than myself. In the course of my remarks yesterday, I freely censured some of the sentiments contained in the address delivered at the opening of the Hall; and I am constrained to refer to them again, on this occasion, in a more specific shape. I am not ignorant of the fact, that the eloquent author of the address has, for many years, exhibited rare professional zeal and disinterestedness, in gratuitously defending many a poor colored victim who has been arrested in Philadelphia as a runaway from Southern yokes and fetters.—Such conduct is worthy of the highest encomiums; but, while it should ever be gratefully appreciated, it ought not to furnish a cover for the dissemination of sentiments which are hostile to the liberty and equality of the human race. True humanity is not local, but universal in its sympathy: it is concerned not only for the safety of the slave who has emancipated himself by flight, but also for him who is actually wearing the galling fetters of slavery.

I shall now proceed to recapitulate—which I neglected to do yesterday—some of the positions in the address alluded to, which, as the advocate of my manacled countrymen, I am in duty bound to reprobate—embodying, as they do, the most fatal heresies that have ever been promulgated by corrupt colonizationists and incorrigible slaveholders. The orator declared—

1. If it were in his power, and it were left for him to decide, he should hesitate before striking off the chains of the slaves at a blow—and simply from a regard for their welfare!

So would George McDuffie hesitate! So would the Legislature of Virginia hesitate! So would every slave-driver at the South hesitate! And all from the most merciful considerations toward the victims of their cruelty! Not that I mean to associate the orator with the slaveholder, in spirit and design. No! But as he joins with the latter in the opinion that the slaves are unfit for a state of freedom—as he declares that he would leave them still longer in slavery—I pronounce him to be in fact, I do not say in intention, the upholder of a system which robs men of their inalienable rights, and ranks them among cattle and creeping things. Hence, *he is no abolitionist*. As a slave, I cannot regard him as the consistent champion of liberty, while he is willing to allow me my liberty in his own city, but not on the soil of South Carolina. Why hesitate, for one moment, to break the chains of the slaves instantaneously? Are they not unjustly held in bondage? If not, then is not oppression inconsistent with humanity! Are they not guiltless of crime? And is innocence to be fettered? Detestable doctrine! The climax of absurdity in philosophy, as well as philanthropy, is, to talk of holding human beings in slavery—as chattels personal—for their good! But—

2. He would prepare the slaves for freedom, so that in the course of half a century, he thought, they might all safely be set free!

The old syren song of *gradualism*! Prepare men to receive, at some distant day, that which is theirs by birthright! Prepare husbands to live with their wives, and wives to be indissolubly allied to their husbands! Prepare parents to cherish their own children! Prepare the laborer to receive a just recompense for his toil! What sort of honesty or humanity is this? "Set free"—from what? Not, surely, from the restraints of law, or the obligations of society; but from irresponsible power, usurped domi-

nion, tyrannical authority. Now, here is a man, claiming to be a philanthropist, who says he is willing to have the slaves set free in fifty years—*i. e.* free from despotic control! For forty-nine years, eleven months, and some odd days, he consents to the exercise of this control over them—for their special benefit, too,—as excellent scholastic treatment, in order to initiate them into the rudiments of liberty—into the mystery of owning their own bodies, and of receiving cash instead of the lash for their labor! The Almighty demands of oppressors, that they break every yoke, and set their captives free, *without* delay; but here is one of his creatures giving a worse than papal indulgence to men-stealers, to prolong their robbery and oppression for at least half a century from the present date! “Whether it be right, in the sight of God, to hearken unto men more than unto God, judge ye.”

3. He would change the word *immediate* for *certain* emancipation. Let the *slaveholders* designate the time when they will manumit their slaves, and he will agree to it, “so it be in time, and not in eternity!”

Emancipation will be in season, therefore, at any period short of the final conflagration! Let it come *in time*—a thousand years hence—before the earth is destroyed, and the whole human race are swept into eternity—and the orator will be satisfied! Why, the slaveholders will give him a pledge to that effect, unanimously, and *instanter*. There is not one of them who expects to cultivate cotton or sugar, or carry on the traffic in human flesh, “*in eternity*”—let them retain their slaves till within an hour of that period when “time shall be no longer,” and they will then turn immediate emancipationists!—*their word for it!* Again:

4. He advocated the appropriation of a portion of the national income to the purchase of the slaves.

I will not stop to consider the insurmountable difficulties which lie in the way of this plan, to prevent its success; but I scout it with abhorrence, as corrupt in principle, and inhuman in its tendency. What! pay the forgers of yokes and fetters for ceasing to manacle innocent human beings! Pay the wrong-doers, instead of those who have suffered wrong! Remunerate those who have subsisted upon plunder all their days! Away with the insulting proposition!

5. Although he ridiculed the scheme of African colonization, he was nevertheless in favor of a total separation of the white and colored population on this continent. Let the latter be colonized, like the hunted red men, somewhere this side the Pacific ocean.

The proposition is as impracticable as it is unnatural. Any attempt to enforce such a separation would inevitably lead to a civil war—a war of extermination. No allurements, however enticing, can ever induce the people of color to remove, *en masse*, any where as a distinct race. The pride of the whites is to be humbled in the dust, and their prejudice to be worn away by contact. The spirit that would colonize men in any particular section of territory, on account of their complexion, is neither patriotic nor Christian, and cannot therefore be philanthropic.

6. He thought laws should be enacted, emancipating the offspring of slave parents at a certain age.

On what principle of justice should this be done? The suggestion is obviously inhuman. Coming from such a source, it fills me with surprise and indignation. I will listen to no proposition that leaves a single human being in chains and slavery. Yet here is one coolly and deliberately made, to retain the parents as chattels personal, but to recognise their offspring as human beings! I appeal to the humanity of this audience—to the fathers

and mothers, the sons and daughters, who are present—is not such a plan of abolition at war with even animal instinct, and with all parental and filial affection? How, as a father, or as a son, could the orator find it in his heart to propound it, in this age of light—in the city of Penn—in the very act of dedicating this Hall to “Virtue, Liberty, and Independence?” Was I not justified, yesterday, in repudiating it as oppressive and scandalous? Now, I say, if immediate and complete emancipation cannot be given to all the slaves, without distinction of age or relationship, (which I deny,) then, instead of manumitting the children, justice demands the emancipation of the parents first; for, to make them free is to insure the freedom of their future offspring. Besides, it is but fair that the heavy burden of slavery should be divided, instead of being borne by one party. In the name of mercy, let the scarred and toil-worn fathers and mothers, whose remnant of days is now dwindle to a span, go free, that they may taste some of the sweets of liberty and have a Christian burial! And let their children fill their places—if there *must* be a gradual emancipation. But the omnipotent fiat of Jehovah is, “Proclaim Liberty throughout all the land, unto *all* the inhabitants thereof.”

7. He proposed the enactment of laws, providing for the education of the slaves as preparatory to their liberation.

This proposal is more than a century old—but when was it ever carried into effect? Educate beasts of burden for freedom! How rational! On one page of the statute-book, the “slaves shall be deemed, sold, taken, and reputed to be *chattels personal* in the hands of their owners and possessors, their executors, administrators, and assigns, to all intents, constructions, and purposes whatsoever;” on the opposite page, they shall enjoy the privileges of education as intellectual and moral beings! Finally—

8. He preferred the perpetuity of slavery to a dissolution of the Union.

A heathen could exclaim, “let justice be done though the heavens fall.” Shall an American patriot do less? Whatever is contrary to humanity should be destroyed. There cannot be union where there is not equity, nor equity where there is oppression. To talk of preferring a human compact above all the requirements of Heaven, is infatuation. Is it possible, that, by ceasing to shed innocent blood, we shall take away the cement of our National Union? Dare any man, professing to believe in Christianity, say that there can be any object so dear as to justify cruelty, robbery, licentiousness and soul murder? The thought is blasphemy! But no such alternative is presented to us; and if it were, none but practical atheists would hesitate to exclaim—“Honesty before policy! Justice before expediency! Innocency before union!”

These are some of the reasons which induced me, yesterday, to bear my testimony against a portion of the dedicatory address, and to affirm that this Hall needed a new baptism in the names of “Virtue, Liberty, and Independence.”

In the course of my remarks, I also took occasion to renew the expressions of my abhorrence of that proud, implacable, and hypocritical association, the Colonization Society; and, perceiving by placards in the streets, that a new champion of that Society is to make his appearance next week, in the person of a foreign adventurer, I alluded to the fact in plain, indignant terms. I spoke of him as an Englishman, not tauntingly, but to his shame; for I cannot reproach any man on account of his complexion or origin. My heart long since conceived and my lips gave utterance to the sentiment, “my country is the world—my countrymen are all mankind.” The gospel levels all geographical barriers—all national distinctions. But I felt that both duty and propriety demanded the announcement of the fact, as a strong

aggravation of his conduct, that this conspirator against the peace, happiness, and equality of my colored countrymen, by seeking to effect their expulsion from the soil on which they were born, is a foreigner. In his reply, he said that I was not taunted when I visited England, with being an American, or of foreign extraction. True ! And why ? Because I was hailed as the uncompromising foe of those twin-monsters, Colonization and Slavery ! But if I had gone to that country to assist a haughty and malignant aristocracy in banishing a certain portion of inhabitants to another continent, on account of their condition or physical conformation, what taunt, what rebuke should I not have deserved from the lips of good men throughout the world ?

He passed a glowing panegyric upon the spirit of liberty now prevalent in Great Britain—spoke of that government as the freest of the free—and quoted exultingly the memorable boast of Cowper—

“Slaves cannot breathe in England—if their lungs
Receive our air, that moment they are free !
The touch our country and their shackles fall !”

Now I ask, what is the sentence which Great Britain has passed upon the Colonization Society, which this pseudo-philanthropist, stands forth to defend ? It is one of utter condemnation ! What is the language of such men as Lord Suffield, and Zachary Macaulay, and Fowell Buxton, and James Cropper, and William Allen, and Daniel O'Connell, and last but first of all, WILLIAM WILBERFORCE ?—Hear it !—“ We feel bound to affirm, that our deliberate judgment and conviction are, that the professions made by the Colonization Society, of promoting the abolition of slavery, are altogether delusive. * * * To the destruction of slavery throughout the world, we are compelled to say, that we believe the Colonization Society to be an obstruction. * * * While we believe its pretexts to be delusive, we are convinced that its *real* effects are of the most dangerous nature. It takes its root from a cruel prejudice and alienation in the whites of America against the colored people, slave or free. * * * *That Society is, in our estimation, not deserving of the countenance of the British public.*”

The gentleman pathetically described himself as “ an exile” from the land of light and liberty. So is the notable Elliot Cresson, who went to England on a fraudulent mission in behalf of the Colonization Society, and returned home covered with shame and disgrace ! Both, it seems, have been colonized,—“ with their own consent,” certainly. “ *Par nobile fratrum.*” But this new champion of American prejudice is “ an exile,” forsooth ! Why exiled ? Surely, *not on account of the color of his skin?* It is reported in the newspapers, that the Emperor of Austria, since he has heard of the numerous riots and lynchings in this land, has seriously thought of sending his criminals to us as a sort of Botany Bay ; but I have not heard that England contemplates any such thing. I know nothing, therefore, derogatory to the character of this individual—but is it not a suspicious circumstance that he is living in exile ? Externally, he may be beautiful as a whitened sepulchre ; but internally, he avows that he is full of colonization corruption and uncleanness. It is said of a certain class of persons—

“True patriots they—for be it understood,
They left their country for their country's good !”

I can hardly believe that this person is one of these patriots ; but, avowing himself to be the friend and admirer of the Colonization Society—*i. e.*, iron-hearted—it is evident that he has been drawn from a land of liberty to a land

of slavery by the loadstone of “elective affinity”—for it is a time-honored maxim, that “birds of a feather flock together.” If I may be allowed a piece of sorrowful irony—he has come hither to help the white birds drive away the black ones, that they may have all the strawberries and cherries, insects and worms, to themselves. Strange as it may seem, it is nevertheless true, that, through a Southern amalgamating process, an eighth wonder has been added to the world—the land is swarming with *white black-birds!*

I will relate an anecdote, to illustrate the conduct of this recreant Englishman. I was one day walking down to the Parliament House with the celebrated Irish patriot O’Connell, and, in the course of our conversation, mentioned to him, that very many of the Irish emigrants, on coming to the United States, very soon partook of the prevailing prejudice against the people of color, and were proscriptive in their feelings towards them. With a generous warmth he instantly exclaimed, “Sir, they are not Irishmen! They are *bastard Irishmen!*”

As I am on the subject of African colonization, and have made allusion to Mr. O’Connell, I cannot do better than to quote the opinion of this gentleman respecting that iniquitous scheme. In a speech delivered by him in Exeter Hall, London, in 1833, he said—“The American Colonization Society has been branded with many names already. There is, however, one which it has not yet received, but which it richly deserves. I knew a gentleman, of an imaginative mind, who went out to Sierra Leone; and on his return, he told a friend of mine, that a cargo of bars of iron, which had been sent to that Colony, was found, after it had lain in a store two months, to be completely *worm-eaten!* Why, said my friend, ‘what kind of worms eat iron?’ ‘Oh,’ said he, ‘they were as like bugs as any worms you can see.’ My friend, who had a little Irish drollery about him, remarked, ‘We have bugs of that kind in Ireland, but we call them *hum-bugs!*’ Now, the American Colonization Society is a bug of that description—it is a **HUM-BUG.** It will eat iron like any thing—it will digest it like an ostrich: there is nothing too hard for the stomach of the Colonization Society. It is the most ludicrous Society that ever yet was dreamed of!”

In concluding his remarks, the speaker said he would not insult the intelligence nor doubt the humanity of the audience, by attempting to show that two and two make four—that to enslave beings guiltless of crime, is an outrage upon every principle of justice—or that those who are unjustly deprived of their liberty ought to be set free without delay. Such propositions are self-evident. In allusion to the speakers who were to follow him, he remarked that slaveholders and their Northern abettors have affected to sneer at the labors of women in the anti-slavery enterprise, but they really trembled in view of these labors. For what good cause had ever been heartily espoused by women, that has not ultimately triumphed over all opposition? The emancipation of eight hundred thousand slaves in the West Indies is mainly owing, under God, to the quenchless devotion, and tireless zeal, and indomitable perseverance of the women of England. The slave system in this country will find in the women of America most formidable antagonists. What astonishing effects have already been wrought upon the public mind by the labors of only two of their number! Those two were now present—daughters of the South, moreover—repentant slaveholders! One of them, at least, would bear her testimony against the atrocious sin of slavery this evening, in strong and eloquent language. For, though the South demands silence upon this subject, on peril of death, there shall be no silence until the howlings of the bereaved slave-mother are turned into shouts of joy, and not a slave is left to pine on the American soil.

While the speaker was addressing the meeting, there were frequent outbreaks of a disorderly spirit, such as hissing, shouting, &c. &c.; and when he took his seat, the rioters within the building made great efforts to create confusion and break up the meeting. In the midst of the tumult, however, MARIA W. CHAPMAN, of Boston, rose, and waving her hand to the audience to become quiet, she commenced: "Oh! for the strength which will enable one on such an occasion to speak forth the truth." Here she was interrupted for a moment by an indescribable uproar, after which she proceeded to express "an earnest desire that the Spirit of divine truth might so far penetrate the hearts of all present, that they would be prepared to listen to the wail now coming up to them from the burning fields of the South;" and then appealed for a hearing for those who were about to address them on the slaves' behalf.

She was followed by ANGELINA E. GRIMKE WELD, a native, and until within a few years a resident, of South Carolina. The eloquence of this speaker, together with her thorough acquaintance with slavery from having been an eye witness of its cruelties and debasing influence, had excited much curiosity to hear her upon this subject. It will be seen by the report of her remarks given below, that she was frequently interrupted by the mob. This circumstance made it next to impossible to give a full report of her remarks, or one that will do justice to her talents. All that we have attempted to do, is to furnish an outline of the *ideas*, wishing the reader to understand that the chaste, yet forcible language in which they were clothed, could not be given.

SPEECH OF ANGELINA E. G. WELD.

Men, brethren and fathers—mothers, daughters and sisters, what came ye out for to see? A reed shaken with the wind? Is it curiosity merely, or a deep sympathy with the perishing slave, that has brought this large audience together? [A yell from the mob without the building.] Those voices without ought to awaken and call out our warmest sympathies. Deluded beings! "they know not what they do." They know not that they are undermining their own rights and their own happiness, temporal and eternal. Do you ask, "what has the North to do with slavery?" Hear it—hear it. Those voices without tell us that the spirit of slavery is *here*, and has been roused to wrath by our abolition speeches and conventions: for surely liberty would not foam and tear herself with rage, because her friends are multiplied daily, and meetings are held in quick succession to set forth her virtues and extend her peaceful kingdom. This opposition shows that slavery has done its deadliest work in the hearts of our citizens. Do you ask, then, "what has the North to do?" I answer, cast out first the spirit of slavery from your own hearts, and then lend your aid to convert the South. Each one present has a work to do, be his or her situation what it may, however limited their means, or insignificant their supposed influence. The great men of this country will not do this work; the church will never do it. A desire to please the world, to keep the favor of all parties and of all conditions, makes them dumb on this and every other unpopular subject. They have become worldly-wise, and therefore God, in his wisdom, employs them not to carry on his plans of reformation and salvation. He hath chosen the foolish things of the world to confound the wise, and the weak to overcome the mighty.

As a Southerner I feel that it is my duty to stand up here to-night and

bear testimony against slavery. I have seen it—I have seen it. I know it has horrors that can never be described. I was brought up under its wing: I witnessed for many years its demoralizing influences, and its destructiveness to human happiness. It is admitted by some that the slave is not happy under the *worst* forms of slavery. But I have *never* seen a happy slave. I have seen him dance in his chains, it is true; but he was not happy. There is a wide difference between happiness and mirth. Man cannot enjoy the former while his manhood is destroyed, and that part of the being which is necessary to the making, and to the enjoyment of happiness, is completely blotted out. The slaves, however, may be, and sometimes are, mirthful. When hope is extinguished, they say, “let us eat and drink, for to-morrow we die.” [Just then stones were thrown at the windows,—a great noise without, and commotion within.] What is a mob? What would the breaking of every window be? What would the levelling of this Hall be? Any evidence that we are wrong, or that slavery is a good and wholesome institution? What if the mob should now burst in upon us, break up our meeting and commit violence upon our persons—would this be any thing compared with what the slaves endure? No, no: and we do not remember them “as bound with them,” if we shrink in the time of peril, or feel unwilling to sacrifice ourselves, if need be, for their sake. [Great noise.] I thank the Lord that there is yet life left enough to feel the truth, even though it rages at it—that conscience is not so completely seared as to be unmoved by the truth of the living God.

Many persons go to the South for a season, and are hospitably entertained in the parlor and at the table of the slave-holder. They never enter the huts of the slaves; they know nothing of the dark side of the picture, and they return home with praises on their lips of the generous character of those with whom they had tarried. Or if they have witnessed the cruelties of slavery, by remaining silent spectators they have naturally become callous—an insensibility has ensued which prepares them to apologize even for barbarity. Nothing but the corrupting influence of slavery on the hearts of the Northern people can induce them to apologize for it; and much will have been done for the destruction of Southern slavery when we have so reformed the North that no one here will be willing to risk his reputation by advocating or even excusing the holding of men as property. The South know it, and acknowledge that as fast as our principles prevail, the hold of the master must be relaxed. [Another outbreak of mobocratic spirit, and some confusion in the house.]

How wonderfully constituted is the human mind! How it resists, as long as it can, all efforts made to reclaim from error! I feel that all this disturbance is but an evidence that our efforts are the best that could have been adopted, or else the friends of slavery would not care for what we say and do. The South know what we do. I am thankful that they are reached by our efforts. Many times have I wept in the land of my birth, over the system of slavery. I knew of none who sympathized in my feelings—I was unaware that any efforts were made to deliver the oppressed—no voice in the wilderness was heard calling on the people to repent and do works meet for repentance—and my heart sickened within me. Oh, how should I have rejoiced to know that such efforts as these were being made. I only wonder that I had such feelings. I wonder when I reflect under what influence I was brought up, that my heart is not harder than the nether millstone. But in the midst of temptation I was preserved, and my sympathy grew warmer, and my hatred of slavery more inveterate, until at last I have exiled myself from my native land because I could no longer endure to hear the wailing of the slave. I fled to the land of Penn; for here, thought I, sympathy for the

slave will surely be found. But I found it not. The people were kind and hospitable, but the slave had no place in their thoughts. Whenever questions were put to me as to his condition, I felt that they were dictated by an idle curiosity, rather than by that deep feeling which would lead to effort for his rescue. I therefore shut up my grief in my own heart. I remembered that I was a Carolinian, from a state which framed this iniquity by law. I knew that throughout her territory was continual suffering, on the one part, and continual brutality and sin on the other. Every Southern breeze wafted to me the discordant tones of weeping and wailing, shrieks and groans, mingled with prayers and blasphemous curses. I thought there was no hope; that the wicked would go on in his wickedness, until he had destroyed both himself and his country. My heart sunk within me at the abominations in the midst of which I had been born and educated. What will it avail, cried I in bitterness of spirit, to expose to the gaze of strangers the horrors and pollutions of slavery, when there is no ear to hear nor heart to feel and pray for the slave. 'The language of my soul was, "Oh tell it not in Gath, publish it not in the streets of Askelon." But how different do I feel now! Animated with hope, nay, with an assurance of the triumph of liberty and good will to man, I will lift up my voice like a trumpet, and show this people their transgression, their sins of omission towards the slave, and what they can do towards affecting Southern mind, and overthrowing Southern oppression.

We may talk of occupying neutral ground, but on this subject, in its present attitude, there is no such thing as neutral ground. He that is not for us is against us, and he that gathereth not with us, scattereth abroad. If you are on what you suppose to be neutral ground, the South look upon you as on the side of the oppressor. And is there one who loves his country willing to give his influence, even indirectly, in favor of slavery—that curse of nations? God swept Egypt with the besom of destruction, and punished Judea also with a sore punishment, because of slavery. And have we any reason to believe that he is less just now?—or that he will be more favorable to us than to his own "peculiar people?" [Shoutings, stones thrown against the windows, &c.]

There is nothing to be feared from those who would stop our mouths, but they themselves should fear and tremble. The current is even now setting fast against them. If the arm of the North had not caused the Bastile of slavery to totter to its foundation, you would not hear those cries. A few years ago, and the South felt secure, and with a contemptuous sneer asked, "Who are the abolitionists? The abolitionists are nothing?"—Ay, in one sense they were nothing, and they are nothing still. But in this we rejoice, that "God has chosen things that are not to bring to nought things that are." [Mob again disturbed the meeting.]

We often hear the question asked, "What shall we do?" Here is an opportunity for doing something now. Every man and every woman present may do something by showing that we fear not a mob, and, in the midst of threatenings and revilings, by opening our mouths for the dumb and pleading the cause of those who are ready to perish.

To work as we should in this cause, we must know what Slavery is. Let me urge you then to buy the books which have been written on this subject and read them, and then lend them to your neighbors. Give your money no longer for things which pander to pride and lust, but aid in scattering "the living coals of truth" upon the naked heart of this nation,—in circulating appeals to the sympathies of Christians in behalf of the outraged and suffering slave. But, it is said by some, our "books and papers do not speak the truth." Why, then, do they not contradict what we say? They

cannot. Moreover the South has entreated, nay commanded us to be silent; and what greater evidence of the truth of our publications could be desired?

Women of Philadelphia! allow me as a Southern woman, with much attachment to the land of my birth, to entreat you to come up to this work. Especially let me urge you to petition. *Men* may settle this and other questions at the ballot-box, but you have no such right; it is only through petitions that you can reach the Legislature. It is therefore peculiarly *your* duty to petition. Do you say, "It does no good?" The South already turns pale at the number sent. They have read the reports of the proceedings of Congress, and there have seen that among other petitions were very many from the women of the North on the subject of slavery. This fact has called the attention of the South to the subject. How could we expect to have done more as yet? Men who hold the rod over slaves, rule in the councils of the nation: and they deny our right to petition and to remonstrate against abuses of our sex and of our kind. We have these rights, however, from our God. Only let us exercise them: and though often turned away unanswered, let us remember the influence of importunity upon the unjust judge, and act accordingly. The fact that the South look with jealousy upon our measures shows that they are effectual. There is, therefore, no cause for doubting or despair, but rather for rejoicing.

It was remarked in England that women did much to abolish Slavery in her colonies. Nor are they now idle. Numerous petitions from them have recently been presented to the Queen, to abolish the apprenticeship with its cruelties nearly equal to those of the system whose place it supplies. One petition two miles and a quarter long has been presented. And do you think these labors will be in vain? Let the history of the past answer. When the women of these States send up to Congress such a petition, our legislators will arise as did those of England, and say, "When all the maids and matrons of the land are knocking at our doors we must legislate." Let the zeal and love, the faith and works of our English sisters quicken ours—that while the slaves continue to suffer, and when they shout deliverance, we may feel the satisfaction of *having done what we could.*

REMARKS OF ABBY KELLY.

As soon as the speaker had taken her seat, ABBY KELLY, of Lynn, Massachusetts, rose and said :

I ask permission to say a few words. I have never before addressed a promiscuous assembly; nor is it now the maddening rush of those voices, which is the indication of a moral whirlwind, nor is it the crashing of those windows, which is the indication of a moral earthquake, that calls me before you. No, not these. These pass unheeded by me. But it is the still small voice within, which may not be withstood, that bids me open my mouth for the dumb,—that bids me plead the cause of God's perishing poor—ay, *God's* poor.

The parable of Lazarus⁷ and the rich man⁸ we may well bring home to ourselves. The North is that rich man. *How* he is clothed in purple and fine linen, and fares sumptuously every day! *Yonder, yonder*, at a little distance, is the gate where lies the Lazarus of the South, full of sores, and desiring to be fed with the crumbs that fall from our luxurious table. Look! see him there; even the dogs are more merciful than we. Oh! see him where he lies!! We have long, very long, passed by with averted eyes. Ought not we to raise him up; and is there one in this Hall who sees nothing for himself to do?

A FEW remarks were then made by LUCRETIA MOTT, of Philadelphia, stating that the present was not a meeting of the Anti-Slavery Convention of American Women, as was supposed by some, and explaining the reason why their meetings were confined to females—to wit, that many of the members of that Convention considered it improper for women to address promiscuous assemblies. She expressed the “hope that such false notions of delicacy and propriety would not long obtain in this enlightened country.”

The meeting then adjourned.

THE FOURTH AND LAST DAY.

THE Hall was occupied this day by the Requited Labor Convention, and the Anti-Slavery Convention of American Women, for business meetings. The character of each of those bodies may be learned from the minutes of their proceedings.

REQUITED LABOR CONVENTION.

AT a meeting of the delegates to the “Requited Labor Convention,” held in the Lecture-room of the Pennsylvania Hall, Fifth month 17th, 1838, the meeting was called to order by William C. Betts of Philadelphia; and, on motion, William Bassett, of Lynn, Massachusetts, was appointed President, and Wm. C. Betts, of Philadelphia, and Alice Eliza Hambleton, of Chester County, Secretaries.

The call for the Convention was read, and the names of the delegates enrolled; when, on motion, they proceeded to form a National Requited Labor Association.

On motion, the following committees were then appointed, viz.: a Committee to draft a Constitution for the Association; a Committee to prepare business for the Convention; a Committee to prepare and publish an address on the *duty* of abstaining from the produce of slave labor; and a Committee to inquire into the best mode of supplying the market with articles produced by remunerated labor.

The Convention then adjourned to meet in the Saloon at two o’clock this afternoon.

Afternoon Session.—The Convention assembled at two o’clock, according to adjournment.

The roll was called, numbering two hundred and seventy-one delegates.

The minutes of the morning session were read and approved.

The Business Committee reported, recommending that a portion of time be devoted to a discussion of the duty of abstaining from slave labor produce, which was adopted.

Alanson St. Clair then offered the following resolution:

Resolved, That we will in all cases give a preference to the products of

free labor over those of slavery ; and never, if we can have a choice between the two, give countenance to slaveholding, by purchasing, trafficking in, or using the latter.

A number of persons spoke upon this resolution, when, the hour for adjournment having arrived, the Convention adjourned to meet at ten o'clock to-morrow morning, in the same place.

WILLIAM C. BETTS,
ALICE ELIZA HAMBLETON, } *Secretaries.*

A. S. CONVENTION OF AMERICAN WOMEN.

On Tuesday, May 15th, 1838, at 10 o'clock, A. M., the Convention assembled in the Lecture-room of Pennsylvania Hall.

Having been called to order, the following officers were appointed.

President.—MARY S. PARKER, of Boston.

Vice Presidents.—Maria W. Chapman, Catharine M. Sullivan and Susan Paul, of Boston, Mass.; Mary A. W. Johnson, of Providence, R. I.; Margaret Prior and Sarah T. Smith, of New York; Martha W. Storrs, of Utica, N. Y.; Lucretia Mott, of Philadelphia; Mary W. Magill, of Buckingham, Pa.; and Sarah M. Grimké, of Charleston, S. C.

Secretaries.—Anne W. Weston and Martha V. Ball, of Boston; Juliana A. Tappan, of New York; and Sarah Lewis, of Philadelphia.

Treasurer.—Sarah M. Douglass, of Philadelphia.

Adjourned to meet in the same place at 4 o'clock, P. M.

TUESDAY AFTERNOON, May 15.

The Convention was called to order at 4 o'clock, P. M.

The President then read the nineteenth Psalm, and offered prayer.

On motion, the following persons were appointed a committee to prepare business for the Convention :

Sarah T. Smith, Sarah R. Ingraham, Margaret Dye, Juliana A. Tappan, and Martha W. Storrs, *New York*; Miriam Hussey, *Maine*; Louisa Whipple, *New Hampshire*; Lucy N. Dodge, Miriam B. Johnson, Maria W. Chapman, and Catharine M. Sullivan, *Massachusetts*; Harriet L. Truesdell and Waity A. Spencer, *Rhode Island*; Mary Grew, Sarah M. Douglass, Hetty Burr, and Martha Smith, *Pennsylvania*; Angelina E. G. Weld, *South Carolina*.

On motion the credentials of the delegates were received and read.

Resolved, That this Convention adjourn to meet at 10 o'clock on Wednesday morning, at such place as shall be procured by the Business Committee.

WEDNESDAY MORNING, May 16.

The Convention was called to order at 10 o'clock, A. M., in the Temperance Hall.

The 94th Psalm was read by the President, and prayer offered by Margaret Prior.

On motion, Sarah Pugh, Elizabeth M. Southard, Mary G. Chapman, and Abby Kelly were appointed a committee to confer with committees from the Pennsylvania State Anti-Slavery Society, the Requited Labor Convention, and the Managers of Pennsylvania Hall, in reference to the arrangements for meetings during the week.

On motion, Rebecca Pitman, of Rhode Island, and Lucretia Mott, of Pennsylvania, were added to the Business Committee.

Sarah T. Smith, on behalf of the Business Committee, presented letters from the Female Anti-Slavery Societies of Salem and Cambridgeport, which were read, as follows :

To the Anti-Slavery Convention of American Women :—

Dear Sisters :—We congratulate you on your meeting together again, and would express to you our deep thankfulness to Him who has permitted you thus to assemble from the North and from the South, from the East and from the West. We assure you, dear sisters, we feel at the present time more than ever impressed with feelings of gratitude. We are conscious that the guidance of Him who has declared himself to be the “ friend of the friendless and the faint,” has been over you, from the unparalleled success that has crowned all your efforts in the cause of the oppressed.

We would that we could all be with you—but though we may not sit in your councils, nor listen to the words of encouragement as they fall from your lips, yet our hearts shall be with you, and in our small measure we will be “ constant in prayer” that you may be guided by wisdom from on high—that your passions may be under the control of reason, and that in the midst of your assemblies you may feel the presence of One whose mission on earth was “ liberty to the captive.”

We have remembered that emancipation is not confined to the release of the millions in our Southern States who breathe the breath of wretchedness and despair; nor is it limited to the thousands in the West Indies who are suffering oppression from their brethren’s hands—but from the Arctic to the Antarctic—from the Atlantic to the Pacific—wherever the clank of the chain is heard, wherever the sigh of the prisoner floats on the air—there does our cause extend, there must our philanthropy penetrate—and who shall say that we are not laboring for the happiness of millions yet to be !

For the encouragement of those new converts who may chance to be with you, we would say that the more we have been engaged in this glorious work, the more we have felt our hearts inclined to the relief of the “ poor and the needy” and our ears opened to the “ cry of those that have no helper”—and we have been brought to feel more keenly the awful amount of guilt and crime with which our earth is filled.

Surely woman must now arise, in all her dignity and kindness, to stay the sword of the angel that is near to avenge the red and the black man’s wrongs !

May the Lord be with you and bless you—may you be strengthened to plan a nobler work than ever fell to woman’s lot to describe !

Let your watchword be *liberty* and *love*, and your banner pure and spotless virtue. May you live to see the approach of that day when man shall no more raise his hand against his brother, when the lion and the lamb shall lie down together, and there shall be none to dig about the walls of Jerusalem. “ Then shall your light break forth as the morning and your health shall spring forth speedily—and your righteousness shall go before you—and the glory of the Lord shall be your rereward.”

On behalf of the Salem (Ms.) Female Anti-Slavery Society.

Your faithful coadjutors in Freedom’s cause.

MARY SPENCER, Cor. Secretary.

Extracts from a Letter from the Cambridgeport Female Anti-Slavery Society.

To the Anti-Slavery Convention of American Women :—

* * * * *—At an Anti-Slavery meeting, a clergyman, who had travelled South, said he was forbidden, when there, to preach to slaves : a slaveholder said to him, it is not safe for the slaves to be enlightened, he could not permit them to hear the sermon upon the mount, and said that the precept, “ Whatsoever ye would that men should do unto you, do ye even so unto them,” would open their eyes to their situation, “ Therefore I forbid you to preach to them.” This clergyman observed that they could not be taught the Lord’s prayer without witnessing its denial all around them. What an avowal is this of the bondage of both master and slave ! The sermon upon the mount would create insurrection ! Truly the divine aspirations commencing, “ Our Father who art in heaven,” (that Father who hath made of one blood all nations of the earth, and commanded all to love as brethren,) are virtually denied.

We should be unjust to our feelings, did we not take this opportunity to tender our grateful tribute of respect and love to those friends of humanity, Misses Sarah M. and Angelina E. Grimké, for their noble exertions in our vicinity the past year; we think many a Felix has trembled, and many a jailor, himself in bonds, has cried out, “ What shall I do to be saved ?”

There are those, and the number is neither few nor small, who think that slavery is a political affair, and women have no concern in it; but deluded or callous must be that heart which acknowledges that woman inflicts an injury, but should be powerless in redressing it. “ We have not so learned Christ !” We think that to woman is committed the precious trust of rearing our lawgivers; as she is pure and elevated, so may she infuse her spirit into the laws of her country; and Heaven grant that polities may not be another name for corruption. When statesman and philanthropist, philanthropist and statesman, are identical terms, then may we hope that “ righ-

tenousness will flow down our streets, and prosperity be within our walls." May the women of this country so purge their hearts of all ambitious views, of all selfish aims, as to be fit and honored instruments for doing the Lord's work; and to be able to say, "Not unto us, O Lord, but to thy name be glory." May we so learn Christ that, in the spirit of his might, we may "bind up the broken-hearted, proclaim liberty to the captives, and the opening of the prison to them that are bound; give unto them beauty for ashes, the oil of joy for mourning, the garment of praise for the spirit of heaviness." To the ladies of the Anti-Slavery Convention we say, may God guide your counsels, and may you do all to his glory.

On behalf of the Society,

L. WILLARD, *Cor. Secretary.*

On motion of Juliana A. Tappan,

Resolved, That whatever may be the sacrifice, and whatever other rights may be yielded or denied, we will maintain practically the right of petition, until the slave shall go free, or our energies, like Lovejoy's, are paralysed in death.

Resolved, That for every petition rejected by the National Legislature, during their late session, we will endeavor to send *five* the present year; and that we will not cease our efforts until the prayers of every woman within the sphere of our influence shall be heard in the halls of Congress on this subject.

On motion, the business of the Convention was suspended for a short time to give instructions to the committee appointed to make arrangements for the future meetings.

On motion of Mary Spencer,

Resolved, That we regard the right of petition as dear and inalienable, and so far from discovering a dictatorial spirit, it is the refuge of the most humble and powerless, and *true greatness* would never turn away from such appeals.

Mary Grew offered the following resolution:

Whereas, The disciples of Christ are commanded to have no fellowship with the "unfruitful works of darkness;" and, whereas, union in His church is the strongest expression of fellowship between men; therefore,

Resolved, That it is our duty to keep ourselves separate from those churches which receive to their pulpits and their communion tables, those who buy, or sell, or hold as property, the image of the living God.

This resolution was supported by the mover, Lucretia Mott, Abby Kelly, Maria W. Chapman, Anne W. Weston, Sarah T. Smith, and Sarah Lewis; and opposed by Margaret Dye, Margaret Prior, Henrietta Willecox, Martha W. Storrs, and Juliana A. Tappan, and was adopted.*

Adjourned to meet in Pennsylvania Hall, on Thursday morning, May 17th.

THURSDAY MORNING, May 17.

The Convention was called to order, in the Pennsylvania Hall, at 10 o'clock, A. M.

A portion of Scripture was read, and prayer offered by the President.

Lucretia Mott made some impressive remarks respecting the riot of the preceding evening, and exhorted the members of the Convention to be steadfast and solemn in the prosecution of the business for which they were assembled.

* Those who voted in the negative on the above resolution, fully concur with their sisters, in the belief that slaveholders and their apologists are guilty before God, and that, with the former, Northern Christians should hold no fellowship; but as it is their full belief that there is still moral power sufficient in the church, if rightly applied, to purify it, they cannot feel it their duty to withdraw, until the utter inefficacy of the means used shall constrain them to believe the church totally corrupt. Martha W. Storrs, Margaret Prior, Elizabeth M. Southard, Margaret Dye, Charlotte Woolsey.

The following resolutions were then adopted:

Resolved, That the Anti-Slavery enterprise presents one of the most appropriate fields for the exercise of the influence of woman, and that we pledge ourselves, with divine assistance, never to desert the work, while an American slave groans in bondage.

Resolved, That every mother is bound by imperative obligations, to instruct her children in the principles of genuine abolition, by teaching them the nature and sanctity of human rights, and the claims of the great law of love, as binding alike on every member of the human family.

Resolved, That in view of the unparalleled sufferings of the slave, and also in relation to the oppression of the nominally free people of color in the United States, it becomes us, as women and as Christians, to invoke the special aid of Almighty God for the speedy deliverance of this people from their oppressors, in that way which will most glorify Himself.

On motion of Henrietta Willecox,

Resolved, That in view of the exigencies of the times, and the loud call for money to aid in the dissemination of truth, this Convention recommend to Female Anti-Slavery Societies to take immediate measures for the formation of cent-a-week societies, on the plan proposed by the Executive Committee of the American Anti-Slavery Society.

On motion of Margaret Dye,

Resolved, That the system of American slavery is contrary to the laws of God, and the spirit of true religion, and that the church is deeply implicated in this sin, and that it therefore becomes the imperative duty of all her members to petition their ecclesiastical bodies to enter their decided protests against it, and exclude slaveholders from their pulpits and communion tables.

Adjourned to meet in the same place at 4 o'clock, P. M.

THURSDAY AFTERNOON, May 17.

The Convention was called to order at 4 o'clock, P. M. The President read the 6th chapter of 2d Cor., and Sarah M. Grimké offered prayer.

Sarah T. Smith, on behalf of the Business Committee, presented an address to Anti-Slavery Societies, which was read and adopted, as follows:

ADDRESS TO ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETIES.

Dear Friends :—In that love for our cause which knows not the fear of man, we address you, in confidence that our motives will be understood and regarded. We fear not censure from you for going beyond the circle which has been drawn around us by physical force, by mental usurpation, by the usages of ages—not any one of which, can we admit, gives the right to prescribe it; else might the monarchs of the old world sit firmly on their thrones—the nobility of Europe lord it over the man of low degree—the chains we are now seeking to break continue riveted on the neck of the slave. Our faith goes not back to the wigwam of the savage, or to the castle of the feudal chief, but would rather soar with hope to that period when “right alone shall make *might*”—when the truncheon and the sword shall lie useless—when the intellect and the heart shall speak and be obeyed—when “He alone whose right it is, shall rule and reign in the hearts of the children of men.”

We are told that it is not within the “province of woman,” to discuss the subject of slavery; that it is a political question, and we are “stepping out of our sphere,” when we take part in its discussion. It is not true that it is *merely* a political question,—it is likewise a question of justice, of humanity, of morality, of religion; a question which, while it involves considerations of immense importance to the welfare and prosperity of our country, enters deeply into the home-concerns, the every-day feelings of millions of our fellow beings. Whether the laborer shall receive the reward of his labor, or be driven daily to *unrequited toil*—whether he shall walk erect in the dignity of conscious manhood, or be reckoned among the beasts which perish—whether his bones and sinews shall be his own, or another’s—whether his child shall receive the protection of its natural guardian, or be ranked among the live-stock of the estate, to be disposed of as the caprice or interest of the master may dictate—whether the sun of knowledge shall irradiate the hut of the peasant, or the murky cloud of ignorance brood darkly over it—whether “every one shall have liberty to worship God according to the dictates of his own conscience,”

or man assume the prerogative of Jehovah, and impiously seek to plant himself upon the throne of the Almighty; these considerations are all involved in the question of liberty or slavery.

And is a subject comprehending interests of such magnitude, merely a "political question," and one in which woman "can take no part without losing something of the modesty and gentleness which are her most appropriate ornaments?" May not the "ornament of a meek and quiet spirit" exist with an upright mind and enlightened intellect, and must woman necessarily be less gentle because her heart is open to the claims of humanity, or less modest because she feels for the degradation of her enslaved sisters, and would stretch forth her hand for their rescue?

By the Constitution of the United States, the whole physical power of the North is pledged for the suppression of domestic insurrections, and should the slaves, maddened by oppression, endeavor to shake off the yoke of the task-master, the men of the North are bound to make common cause with the tyrant, and put down, at the point of the bayonet, every effort on the part of the slave for the attainment of his freedom. And when the father, husband, son, and brother shall have left their homes to mingle in the unholy warfare, "to become the executioners of their brethren, or to fall themselves by their hands," will the mother, wife, daughter, and sister feel that they have no interest in this subject? Will it be easy to convince them that it is no concern of theirs, that their homes are rendered desolate, and their habitations the abodes of wretchedness? Surely this consideration is of itself sufficient to arouse the slumbering energies of woman, for the overthrow of a system which thus threatens to lay in ruins the fabric of her domestic happiness; and she will not be deterred from the performance of her duty to herself, her family, and her country, by the cry of "political question."

But admitting it to be a political question, have we no interest in the welfare of our country? May we not permit a thought to stray beyond the narrow limits of our own family circle, and of the present hour? May we not breathe a sigh over the miseries of our countrymen, nor utter a word of remonstrance against the unjust laws that are crushing them to the earth? Must we witness "the headlong rage or heedless folly," with which our nation is rushing onward to destruction, and not seek to arrest its downward course? Shall we silently behold the land which we love with all the heart-warm affection of children, rendered a hissing and a reproach throughout the world, by this system which is already "tolling the death-bell of her decease among the nations?" No; the events of the last two years have "cast their dark shadows before," overclouding the bright prospects of the future, and shrouding the destinies of our country in more than midnight gloom, and we cannot remain inactive. Our country is as dear to us as to the proudest statesman, and the more closely our hearts cling to "our altars and our homes," the more fervent are our aspirations that every inhabitant of our land may be protected in his fireside enjoyments by just and equal laws; that the foot of the tyrant may no longer invade the domestic sanctuary, nor his hand tear asunder those whom God himself has united by the most holy ties. Let our course, then, still be *onward!* Justice, humanity, patriotism, every high and every holy motive urge us forward, and we dare not refuse to obey. The way of duty lies open before us, and though no pillar of fire be visible to the outward sense, yet an unerring light shall illuminate our pathway, guiding us through the sea of persecution and the wilderness of prejudice and error, to the promised land of freedom, where "every man shall sit under his own vine and under his own fig-tree, and none shall make him afraid."

The numerous small societies, scattered over the various districts of our extended country, we would greet with affectionate interest, with assured hope.

Though you are now only as glimmering lights on the hill tops, few and far between, yet if with all diligence these fires be kept burning, the surrounding country shall catch the flame—the chains fall from our brethren, and they unite with us in the Jubilee song of thanksgiving. To bring about this glorious consummation of our hopes, we must be diligent in business, fervent in spirit; there must be the patient continuance in well doing of those who have been battling for the world's freedom, and who have counted nothing too near or too dear to sacrifice for their brethren in bonds; there must be an increase of energy and zeal in the many who have enlisted in the ranks of the friends of freedom. In joining an Anti-Slavery Society, we have set our names to no idle pledge. Let not any one member feel released from individual action; though by association we gain strength, yet it is strength to be used by each individual. The day, the hour calls imperatively for "doing with all our might" what our hands find to do; the means are various. To some among us may be given the head to devise, to others the hand to execute; one may have time to devote, another money; let each give liberally of that which he or she possesses. Time, talents, influence, wealth, all are required, all will aid in the great enterprise. Let each one seriously inquire how he or she can availably promote the cause, and in that department faithfully work. Let the aged counsel, the young execute: plead not inability; we much fear that many among us rest satisfied with "the name to live and yet are dead." We give in our names as members of a society, pay a small annual subscription, and attend the meetings of the society. So far is well, but much more is needed for the accomplishment of our work. Ignorance yet remains to be enlightened, prejudice to be removed, injustice to be overthrown; and daily, almost hourly, opportunities may offer to exert our strength where it can be availably applied; and in order to do this, keep yourselves informed of every Anti-Slavery movement. The editor of the *Emancipator* says:

"Other things being equal, those are the most efficient abolitionists who are the most intelligent; and commonly, the most good is done in those places where our books and publications are most circulated and read."

Another editor, commenting on the above, says:

Every word of this is true. We know a society of 120 members. Forty-one Anti-Slavery papers are taken by them, and well circulated. The result is, it has had a rapid increase, it exerts a decisive in-

fluence on the community in which it is located, its prospects are most flattering, and no society has acted more efficiently in the petition business. We know of another society of forty-six members, of whom only two or three take an Anti-Slavery paper. Societies will not act efficiently, they cannot act intelligently, they must backslide, if they do not supply themselves well with Anti-Slavery publications. Is it not a shame, that within the limits of societies numbering forty, sixty, seventy members, but two or three numbers of our paper should be taken? Nay, we have been told of one large society, that not only took no Anti-Slavery papers, but had never sent up delegates to our anniversaries, and, in fact, knew nothing about them. In the name of common sense, what good does such a society propose to accomplish? A light under a bushel might as well be put out. Organization without effort, is all a farce. An artificial skeleton of dry bones has no more power, than the same bones had before they were jointed, wired, and so arranged as to constitute a *form of life*."

The taunting question heard so long, and so untiringly repeated, "What has the North to do with slavery?" is most triumphantly answered by the practice of any one active, consistent member of an Anti-Slavery Society. As "we remember them in bonds as bound with them," we find we have much to do, much even for ourselves. How slowly, yet how surely, do we feel the loosening of those bonds of prejudice wherewith we have been bound; how slow were we to feel the truth that all men are indeed "born free and equal?" How much do we find to do in acting up to this doctrine, in our closets, in our families, in our intercourse with the world, and by the way side! The attentive consideration of what we owe to our colored brethren, will dispose us to manifest our sympathy with them; and to show them by our conduct that we do not consider them as strangers and aliens; that we appreciate their manly struggles for the advancement of their race; and when favorable circumstances permit the escape of any beyond the prescribed length of the chain which has bound them, we cannot, we dare not, join in the rude ridicule of the vulgar, the sneering contempt of the supercilious, or the mistaken kindness of the benevolent, who say that to awaken their sensibilities to their grievances would be cruelty in the extreme; that "where ignorance is bliss 'tis folly to be wise." We see the fallacy of this hackneyed sentiment. Ignorance is not bliss—insensibility is not enjoyment. The objector little knows how tightly these fetters of caste have been drawn around, how deeply they have scarred their victim! how bitterly the injustice has been felt; and the more intensely, as it has been borne in silence, without either the solace of sympathy or the hope of relief.

The education of colored children recommends itself to abolitionists, as the most efficient means of raising them from their present despised condition. Many societies have established schools, (ought not all to do it?) wherein their younger members cheerfully devote a portion of their leisure time to the instruction, not only of the children, but of adults. The eagerness for learning manifested by most escaped from the house of bondage, their anxiety to improve the intervals of labor in acquiring knowledge, is too touching to be unnoticed or disregarded; it proves that their ignorance is not natural stupidity, that their degradation is the work of the oppressor, that the darkness in which they have been shrouded is a darkness to be felt. Let us, then, encourage and aid their earnest efforts, and though in many instances little can be done towards repairing their deep wrong in their own persons, yet we can incite them to provide, by industry, frugality, and enterprise, all the blessings of freedom for their children.

While we thus labor to restore to our colored brethren the rights of which they have been so long and so unjustly deprived, let us endeavor to come to the work with pure hearts and clean hands. Let us refuse to participate in the guilt of him "who useth his neighbor's service without wages, and giveth him not for his work." Whether we are guiltless of such participation while we continue to purchase and use the products of unrequited toil, becomes a question of serious import, and one which we recommend to your attentive consideration.

It is not necessary to enter into a labored argument to prove that one of the main props of the system of slavery is the price paid by the inhabitants of non-slaveholding states and countries for the productions of the states in which slavery prevails. This is so evident that we presume none will dispute it. Considering the fact, then, as admitted, we would ask, what is the slaveholder but our agent, holding and using his human chattels for our benefit? and if it be true that "what a man does by another, he does himself," are we not partners with him in guilt? With what consistency, then, can we demand that he "undo the heavy burdens, and let the oppressed go free," while we continue to pay him for retaining them in bondage?

Our inconsistency, in this respect, does not escape the vigilant eyes of our opponents. Said a slaveholder to an abolitionist, "we make the sugar, and you buy it," thus plainly intimating that if they were culpable, we were far from blameless. We feel that on this point we have been verily guilty, and though the scales are falling from the eyes of many, yet much remains to be done among ourselves. And what are the motives that restrain us from acting consistently on this subject? Are we unwilling to forego a few sensual gratifications in such a cause? Will we not consent to be somewhat more coarsely clothed, and to deny the palate some of its wonted gratifications, rather than contribute to swell the burden of sighs and groans which unceasingly ascend from breaking hearts to the throne of Him "who executeth righteousness and judgment for all that are oppressed?"

In presenting to your consideration a few remarks on the subject of peace, we would not be understood as wishing to identify the anti-slavery cause with that of peace. We no more desire that the Anti-Slavery Society should become a Peace Society, than we wish it to be a Temperance, Bible, or Missionary Society. We believe that each of these objects may be best promoted by a distinct organization of its friends. Nor have we any intention of discussing the abstract question of the lawfulness of war, or the *right* of using violence in self-defence. We would only suggest to you, the importance of carefully examining how far abolitionists are restrained from the use of such methods of defence, by their declaration of sentiments, issued at the time of the formation of the American Anti-Slavery Society; and what the influence of its use would probably be upon our cause. From these two positions only, do we feel at liberty to present the subject.

The declaration of sentiments of the Anti-Slavery Convention, assembled in Philadelphia in

1833, contrasts the principles and measures of abolitionists, and those of our revolutionary fathers, in the following language :

"*Their* principles led them to wage war against their oppressors, and to spill human blood, like water, in order to be free. *Ours* forbid the doing of evil that good may come, and lead us to reject and to entreat the oppressed to reject, the use of all carnal weapons for deliverance from bondage ; relying solely upon those which are spiritual, and mighty, through God, to the pulling down of strong holds."

"*Their* measures were physical resistance—the marshalling in arms—the hostile array—the mortal encounter. *Ours* shall be such only as the opposition of moral purity to moral corruption—the destruction of error by the potency of truth," &c.

Sentiments, analogous to these, have been incorporated into the constitutions of many Anti-Slavery Societies, and are supposed to be adopted by abolitionists generally. Are we not, by them, bound utterly to reject the use of weapons of physical resistance, in our efforts to promote the emancipation of the slave ? How far the restriction is applicable to cases of defence against invasion of the personal rights of abolitionists, while acting as such, each must decide for himself. We regard such a decision of so much importance, that we would urge upon you a serious reconsideration of the subject.

Without entering at all into a discussion of the *right* to adopt such measures, we think it may be shown that their use would injure rather than aid our cause. In the few instances where the lives of abolitionists have been in immediate peril, has it not been seen that non-resistance has as effectually shielded the individual, as an opposite course of conduct, while it won more honor to his principles ? And has it not in all ages, among all classes of men, been established as a general truth, that, while physical strength and violence may be foiled or overcome, unresisting and forbearing meekness is almost omnipotent in the propagation of truth. The "wisdom of this world" has never understood "the philosophy of forgiveness." The patient endurance of injuries, the returning of good for evil, exert an influence on the human soul, so silent that it cannot be believed in, until it is felt, and yet so mighty, that it has been compared, by Him who "knew what was in man," to heaping coals of fire on the head. We deem it very desirable and important that so powerful an influence should be enlisted in the anti-slavery cause. The work that we have to perform is an *Herculean* task, and we would gladly avail ourselves of all rightous means of hastening its accomplishment.

It is a universally admitted truth, that opposition strengthens human purpose, unless the judgment and conscience are convinced that the course pursued is wrong or inexpedient. Such conviction is not produced, is not designed to be produced, by the measures which we are discussing ; therefore, they unfit the mind for the reception of truth, and the heart for righteous action. Thus the only influence which their use exerts upon the progress of anti-slavery principles, is deleterious. And even if it were admitted that they are sometimes necessary for the preservation of life, are there not those who love the cause of freedom and of God, with an ardor sufficient to induce them to suffer the loss of life, rather than injure the prosperity of that cause ?

To pursue the discussion of this subject farther, would perhaps be to transcend our prescribed limits. We earnestly and respectfully commend it to the attention of our fellow laborers, especially to that portion of them who believe that Christianity justifies a resort to arms for self-preservation. Those who do not thus believe, of course, need not such arguments as we have presented.

Aware that a disposition to "prove all things," has ever been characteristic of abolitionists, we feel assured that by careful study, and fervent prayer, they will be enabled to choose right paths for their feet, and that, in the accomplishment of a work upon which God has so manifestly set his seal of approbation, his servants will not be left unaided by the illuminations of that Holy Spirit who was sent to guide them "into all truth."

In looking back on the past, have we not much to encourage us to persevere in the work set before us ? For a long period a solitary voice was heard crying in the wilderness ; now there is the shouting of a host. Then was demanded a little more sleep, a little more slumber ; now there is the awakening of the nation ; and though not yet sufficiently aroused to discern friends in those who have shaken this false rest, yet if we fail not in our duty, there can be no more " folding of the hands to sleep," but our country will arise and go forth, clothed with majesty and girded with power.

In behalf of the Anti-Slavery Convention of American Women, assembled at Philadelphia.

Signed by the officers.

On motion of Thankful Southwick,

Resolved, That it is the duty of all those who call themselves abolitionists, to make the *most vigorous efforts* to procure for the use of their families the products of *free labor*, so that their hands may be clean, in this particular, when inquisition is made for blood.

Esther Moore made some remarks upon the importance of carrying into effect the resolutions that had been passed.

Adjourned to meet in Temperance Hall, on Friday morning, at 9 o'clock.

This was the last meeting held in Pennsylvania Hall ! Business connected with the safety of the building made it necessary for members of the Board of Managers to pass several times through the Saloon where this

Convention was in session, and a more dignified, calm, and intrepid body of persons they never saw assembled. Although the building was surrounded all day by the mob, who crowded about the doors and at times even attempted to enter the Saloon, yet they were perfectly collected—unmoved by the threatening tempest. The cause which they were assembled to promote, is one that nerves the soul to deeds of noble daring. The Convention adjourned late in the afternoon, when the mob which destroyed the building had already begun to assemble. The doors were blocked up by the crowd, and the streets almost impassable from the multitude of “fellows of the baser sort.” But these “American Women” passed through the whole without manifesting any sign of fear, as if conscious of their own greatness and of the protecting care of the God of the oppressed.

The State Anti-Slavery Society, the Requited Labor Convention, and the Anti-Slavery Convention of American Women, all held meetings on the subsequent day, according to their adjournments; the latter were in session during the whole day, and *finished* their business. But as those meetings were not held in Pennsylvania Hall, their proceedings do not form a part of the history of that building.

DESTRUCTION OF THE HALL.

IT is with reluctance we come before the public with the story of our wrongs. Were we to consult our own feelings, we should draw a veil over the disgraceful transactions we are about to disclose. But it is right that our fellow citizens should know the *true* state of the case.

It is believed that the destruction of our Hall by a mob is not a true exponent of the sentiments of THE CITIZENS of PHILADELPHIA ; but that a large majority of the legal voters think the Constitutional right to assemble together in a peaceable manner and freely to express our sentiments, should be maintained against all mobs, whatever may be the subject under discussion.

The owners of Pennsylvania Hall have been among the *first* of the friends of liberty who have been attacked ; but it is to be feared they will not be the *last*. If this gross outrage shall pass unrebuked, then, indeed, may our banks, and churches, and courts of justice, be razed to their foundations. The Council and Senate Chambers, the Hall of Representatives, and even the HALL OF INDEPENDENCE itself, may not be safe. Anarchy may usurp the place of law, and be succeeded by a fearful despotism.

But to come directly to the account of the outrage. On Tuesday morning, the second day of the Dedication, placards were posted in manuscript about the city. The following, taken down in the morning, must have been put up on the preceding evening :

“ Whereas a convention for the avowed purpose of effecting the immediate abolition of slavery in the Union is now in session in this city, it behooves all citizens, who entertain a proper respect for the right of property, and the preservation of the Constitution of the United States, to interfere, *forcibly* if they *must*, and prevent the violation of these pledges, heretofore held sacred.

“ We would therefore propose to all persons, so disposed, to assemble at the Pennsylvania Hall in 6th street, between Arch and Race, on to-morrow morning (Wednesday 16th May) at 11 o’clock, and demand the immediate dispersion of said convention.—May 15th 1838.”

We have the original in our possession, of which the above is a copy *literatim et punctuatim*. We have also the original of two other placards, one written on the *same kind* of paper as that above, and in a hand very similar. It was taken off an awning post in Market street, on Wednesday morning, having probably been put up on Tuesday evening. It appears to be written more carelessly than the other :

“ Whereas a Convention for the avowed purpose of effecting the immediate abolition of slavery throughout the U. States, is at this time holding its session in Philadelphia, it behooves all citizens entertaining a proper respect for the right of property and the Constitution of these states to interfere, *forcibly* if they *must*, and prevent the violation of pledges heretofore held sacred.

“ We therefore propose that all persons so disposed meet at Pennsylvania Hall on 6th st. between Arch and Race to-morrow, Wednesday May 16th and demand the immediate dispersion of said Convention ;

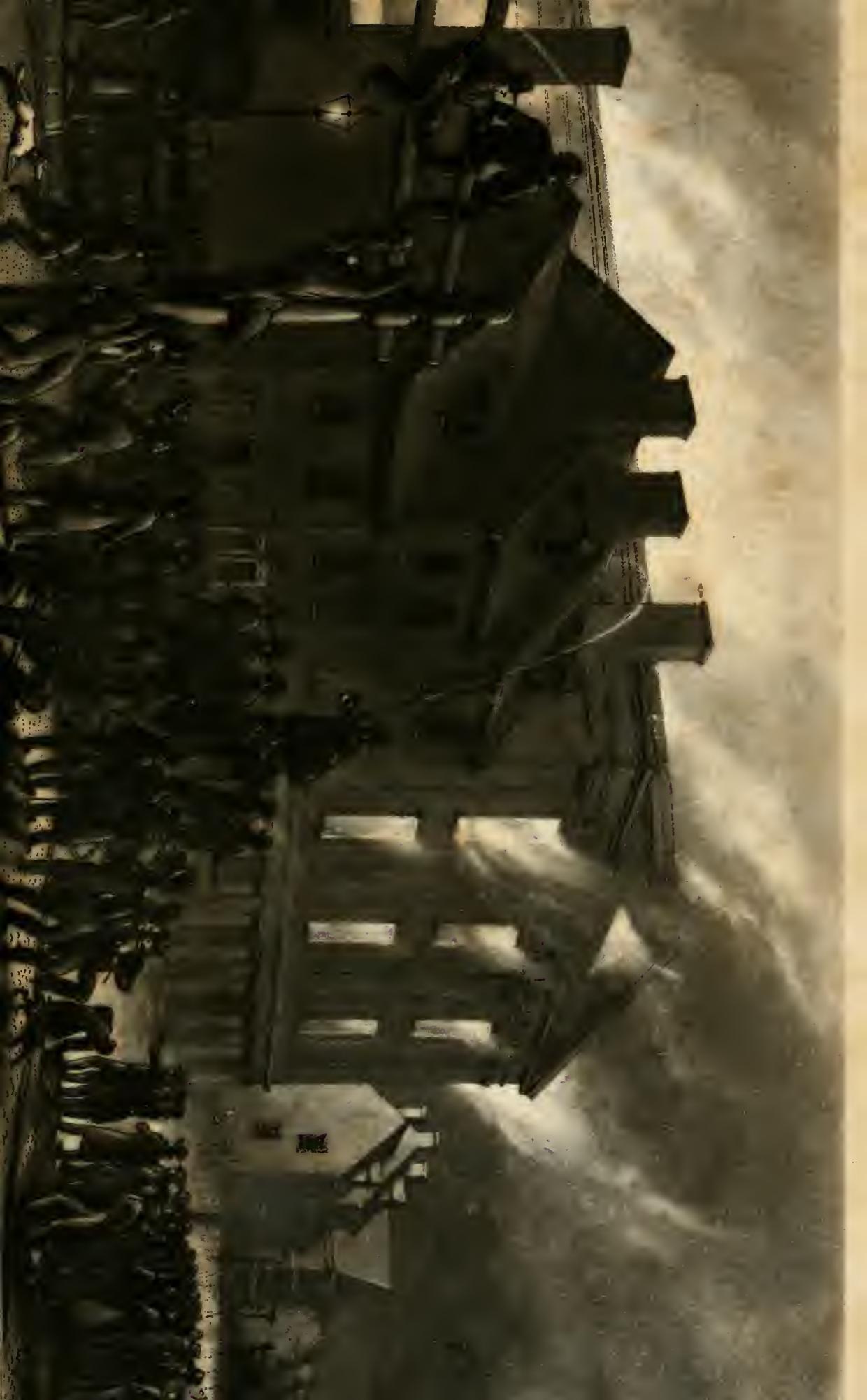
Several Citizens.

The other is in nearly the same language :

Whereas a convention for the avowed purpose of effecting the immediate abolition of slavery throughout the United States is at this time holding its session in Philadelphia, it behooves all citizens who entertain a proper regard for the right of property and the preservation of the Constitution of this Union to interfere *forcibly* if they *must*, and prevent the violation of those pledges heretofore held sacred.

We therefore propose that all persons so disposed assemble at the Pennsylvania Hall to-morrow, (Wednesday the 16th May,) at 11 A. M., and demand the dispersion of said convention.

Signed, Several Citizens.





We may observe, that if this notice had been written by a Philadelphian, he would, in all probability, have said "*in this city*," instead of "*in Philadelphia*." But this is not the only evidence that the mob was managed chiefly by strangers from the South, who were for a time enjoying the hospitality and privileges of our city. It was undoubtedly "a proper respect for the right of property" which induced these *chivalric gentlemen* to destroy our Hall, which was *our* property, *honestly* purchased from the *original owner*. Can they say as much of the kind of "property" to which they allude?

In our letter to the Mayor will be found a copy of another placard, very similar to the above. It is unnecessary to insert it here.

The first indications of a disorderly spirit manifested in or about the building, were on the evening of the First day of the Dedication, during an address on Temperance; a pane of glass was broken by a stone or other missile being thrown against one of the windows. On the morning of the 16th,—the time specified in the placards,—there were seen from twenty to fifty persons prowling about the doors, examining the gas-pipes, and talking in an "incendiary" manner to groups which they collected around them in the street. Some of them ventured to hiss during the discussion that morning, showing that the spirit of misrule was becoming more rampant. These incendiaries, or recruits from the party, continued to hang about the Hall through the day, at times crowding into the Anti-Slavery Office, and creating an excitement by their violent and abusive language.

The evening meeting of this day was the one addressed by William Lloyd Garrison, Angelina E. G. Weld, and others,—the audience numbering more than three thousand persons. In the account of the proceedings of that meeting, we have already stated that there was great disturbance. Many of the windows were broken, and the congregation were annoyed by the constant yelling and hooting of the mob.

As soon as it was ascertained that a serious attack had commenced, two of the Managers went to the police office. The Mayor was not there. The person in attendance said that four men had been sent to the Hall, which was all the disposable force they had at that time.

Between 9 and 10 o'clock, on the morning of the 17th, the mob began to assemble again about the Hall. A committee of the Managers immediately waited on the Mayor, and informed him that the mob *had commenced* assembling at that time, and delivered to him the following letter:

Letter from the Managers of the Pennsylvania Hall, to John Swift, Mayor.

PHILADELPHIA, Fifth month 17th, 1838.

Esteemed Friend:—Last evening, as the Female Anti-Slavery Society were holding a public meeting in the Pennsylvania Hall, situate on Delaware Sixth street, between Mulberry and Sassafras streets, whilst Angelina E. Grinné Weld, of South Carolina, was addressing the meeting, our house was assaulted by a ruthless mob, who broke our windows, alarmed the women, and disturbed the meeting very much, by yelling, stamping, and throwing brick-bats and other missiles through the windows.

The audience consisted of more than three thousand persons, a majority of whom were respectable and intelligent women!

In our invitation to thee to attend the opening of our Hall, dated the 14th day of the Fourth month last, we mentioned that we should hold public meetings on the 14th, 15th, and 16th of this month. We now beg leave to inform thee that the Convention of American Women will meet in the Saloon of the Pennsylvania Hall, at 10 o'clock this morning, and the Free Produce Convention at 2 o'clock; the Convention of American

Women at 4 o'clock, P. M., and the Methodist Anti-Slavery Society at 8 o'clock in the evening.

To-morrow, the State Anti-Slavery Society will meet at 8 o'clock; the Free Produce Convention at 10 o'clock; the Convention of American Women will meet at 1 o'clock, P. M.; and the Free Produce Convention will meet at 4 o'clock in the afternoon; and the Pennsylvania State Anti-Slavery Society will meet at 8 o'clock in the evening; and we shall continue to use our building from time to time as occasion may require; and we call upon thee, as Chief Magistrate of the city, to protect us and our property, in the exercise of our constitutional right peaceably to assemble and discuss any subject of general interest. Respectfully thine, &c.

Signed, by direction of the Board of Managers of the Pennsylvania Hall Association.

DANIEL NEALL, President.

P. S.—We herewith enclose a written placard, numbers of which were posted up in various parts of the city, and, so far as we have seen, all appeared to be in the same hand writing.

(Copy.)

“Whereas, a convention, for the avowed purpose of effecting the immediate emancipation of slaves throughout the United States,* is at this time holding its session in Philadelphia, it behooves the citizens who entertain a proper respect for the right of property, and the preservation of the constitution of the Union, to interfere, forcibly if they must, to prevent the violation of those pledges heretofore held sacred, and it is proposed that they assemble at the Pennsylvania Hall to-morrow morning, (Wednesday,) 16th May, and demand the immediate dispersion of said convention.”

Our Committee will also furnish thee with the name of one of the ring-leaders of the mob.†

The Mayor replied that he wished to see the Attorney General, “to consult with him about the law.” The Committee asked him, upon what point he wanted information? He answered, “in relation to the damages; he wanted to see whether the county was liable to pay the costs.” They told him that they had not called to claim *damages*, but to ask for *protection*. He replied: “There are always two sides to a question—it is *public opinion makes mobs!*—and ninety-nine out of a hundred of those with whom I converse are against you;” but he added that he would go there in the evening and make a speech, and if *that* did not answer he could do *nothing more!* The City Solicitor said, he (the Solicitor) gave orders to the police officers not to arrest a single man last evening!!

Fearing that the destruction of the building was meditated, and that no efficient steps would be taken by the Mayor to prevent its being offered a sacrifice to propitiate the Demon of Slavery, the following letter was written and delivered to the Sheriff:

Letter from the Managers of the Pennsylvania Hall, to John G. Wilmouth, Sheriff.

PHILADELPHIA, Fifth month 17th, 1838.

Esteemed Friend:—Our new and elegant building, which on the second day of this week was dedicated to “Liberty and the Rights of Man,” known by the name of the Pennsylvania Hall, situate on the west side of Delaware Sixth street, between Mulberry and Sassafras streets, in the city of Philadelphia, was occupied last evening by the Female Anti-Slavery Society. The audience consisted of more than three thousand persons, of whom a large majority were respectable and intelligent women.

Whilst Angelina E. Grimké Weld was addressing them, our building was

* The placard read originally, “in the Southern portion of the United States.” These words, however, were crossed out with the pen, and “throughout the United States” interlined.

† This the Committee did, but whether the individual was arrested we know not.

assailed by a mob, who broke our windows, alarmed the women, and disturbed the meeting by yelling, stamping, and throwing brick-bats and other missiles through the windows.

In our invitation to thee to attend the opening of the Hall, dated the 14th day of the Fourth month last, we mentioned that we should hold public meetings on the 14th, 15th, and 16th of this month. We now inform thee that the Free Produce Convention will meet in that building this afternoon at 2 o'clock; the Convention of American Women at 4 o'clock, P. M., and the Wesleyan Anti-Slavery Society will meet at 8 o'clock in the evening. To-morrow the State Anti-Slavery Society will meet at 8 o'clock, A. M.; the Free Produce Convention at 10 o'clock; the Anti-Slavery Convention of American Women will meet at 1 o'clock, P. M., and the Free Produce Convention will meet at 4 o'clock in the afternoon, and the Pennsylvania State Anti-Slavery will meet at 8 o'clock in the evening,—and we shall continue to use our building from time to time as occasion may require; and we call upon thee, as High Sheriff of the city and county of Philadelphia, to protect us and our property, in the exercise of our constitutional right of peaceably assembling and discussing any subject of general interest that we, or those to whom we may grant the use of our Hall, may see proper.

Respectfully thine, &c.

Signed by direction of the Board of Managers of the Pennsylvania Hall Association.

DANIEL NEALL, *Chairman.*

To this communication the Sheriff replied, it was the Mayor's business—that if he (the Sheriff) had the one hundred and sixty men which the Mayor had, he would have suppressed the mob the first night, and thought it might yet be done; but that as for himself, his (the Sheriff's) force consisted of himself and three men, and what could four men do? He should go there in the evening, and so far as his personal, official, and moral influence would go, we should have the full benefit of it—that owing to the state of things existing between himself and the Mayor, he did not wish to interfere with any thing that belonged to Colonel Swift, &c.

The committee retired and forthwith convened the Board, and submitted the case to them—who thereupon immediately passed the following resolution unanimously, and sent it to the Sheriff by the President, who, without any delay, took it to the Sheriff's office. The Sheriff was not there. He then took it to the Hall, but the Sheriff was not there; whereupon he left it with a friend, to wait at the Hall and deliver it to the Sheriff immediately upon his arrival, which was done.

The following is a copy of the resolution above alluded to:

"At a meeting of the Board of Managers of the Pennsylvania Hall, on the 17th of Fifth month, 1838, to take into consideration the attack of a mob upon their property on the last evening, and the threatened attack upon it at the present time, it was

Resolved, That we cannot undertake to defend the Hall by force; that, as law-abiding and peaceful citizens, we throw ourselves upon the justice of our cause, the laws of our country, and the right guaranteed to us by the Constitution, peaceably to assemble and to discuss any matter of general interest; and that we will not have any "immediate or active participation in any mob or riot" which may occur.

Signed by

DANIEL NEALL, *President.*

It may be remarked that our communication to him was in writing, and any *conversation* the committee might have had with him was considered by the Board as informal.

Thus passed the whole day without any measures being taken by the civil authorities to disperse the rioters and promote order. Our beautiful Hall was given up to the tender mercies of pro-slavery incendiaries. It

may not be improper here to state that before we commenced building, the Mayor was informed of our intentions ; and he boastingly assured us that "the abolitionists should never be molested while *he* was Mayor!" This conversation, however, took place before the last general election.

At about sunset, the Mayor informed the President of our Board that *he would disperse the mob*, if he could have possession of the building ; but if not, he could not do it—he had not sufficient disposable force. The President told him, the Managers did not intend to take the responsibility of opposing the civil authority—we did not intend to do any thing that would injure our claim for indemnity, or relieve the county from responsibility; and thereupon directed the door-keeper, in the presence of the Mayor, to deliver up the keys to the Mayor, who then made a speech to the mob, in substance as follows :

Fellow Citizens :—I wish to address you a few moments. I am sorry to perceive these disturbances, but I must hope that nothing will be transacted contrary to order and peace. Our city has long held the enviable position of a peaceful city—a city of order. It must not lose its position. I truly hope that no one will do any thing of a disorderly nature ; any thing of the kind would be followed by regret ever after.

There will be no meeting here this evening. This house has been given up to me. The Managers had the right to hold their meeting ; but as good citizens they have, at my request, suspended their meeting for this evening.

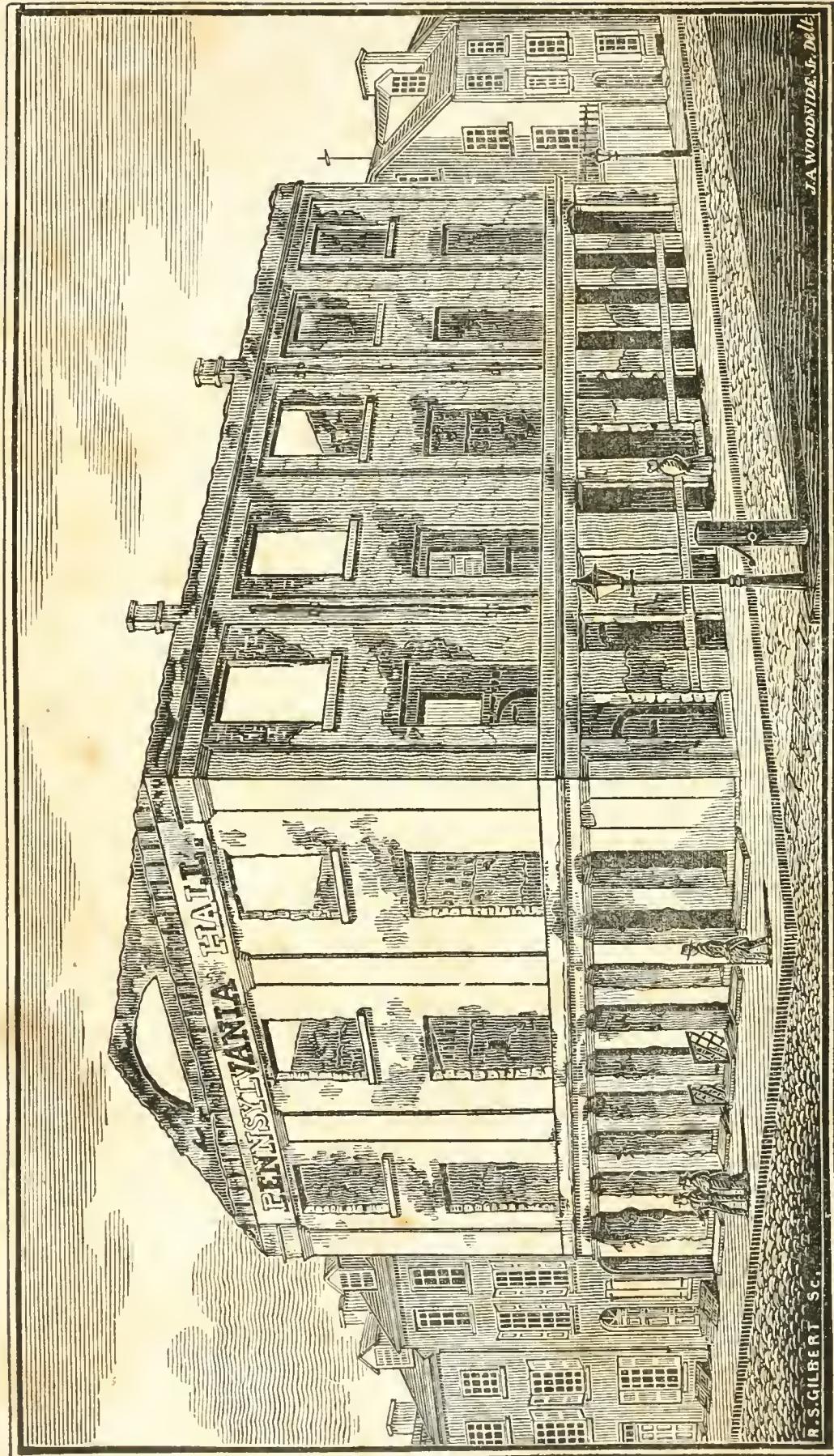
We never call out the military here ! We do not need such measures. Indeed, I would, fellow citizens, look upon *you as my police* ! I look upon you as my police, and I trust you will abide by the laws, and keep order. I now bid you farewell for the night.

The mob then gave "three cheers for the Mayor," and soon after commenced the attack. This was done by forcing open the doors, and carrying papers and the window-blinds upon the speaker's platform, where they set fire to them, and turning the gas pipes towards the flames thus increased their activity, and in a few hours the building was consumed.

It is estimated that 15,000 persons were present at this scene. As was to be expected, the inactivity of such a vast concourse of spectators, as well as the inefficiency of the magistrates, greatly emboldened the mob ; and being stimulated by their success in the destruction of the Hall, they were now prepared for further outrages. The next day dawned on such a scene as Philadelphians were unused to behold. We shall not attempt a description. It seemed as if Pandemonium had broken loose. Evening came to witness new scenes of violence. The mob attacked and set fire to a new building in Thirteenth near Callowhill street, intended for the "Shelter for Colored Orphans"—"a charitable institution *having no connection with the Anti-Slavery Society*."

The police magistrate of the district in which the "Shelter" is located, declared that, although personally acquainted with nearly all the inhabitants of that district, he did not recognise a single individual of them as engaged in the mob which attacked that building. The mob was composed of *strangers*!

On Saturday evening, Bethel church, in Sixth street, belonging to the colored people, was attacked, and some slight damage sustained. The private dwellings of several citizens were also surrounded, and threats of violence loudly made. The principal object of hatred, however, appeared to be the office of the Public Ledger, which paper, although not an abolition paper, had been an advocate for free discussion, and had expressed itself in manly terms of disapprobation at the burning of the Hall. But the rioters learning that considerable preparations for defence had been made, suddenly lost much of their "regard for the right of property and the preservation of the Constitution of this Union." They only assembled about the Ledger of-



fice—poured forth a volley of oaths—and dispersed,—reminding one of the couplet,

“The king of France, with forty thousand men,
Marched up the hill—and then marched down again.”

A single fact more, to show the dangerous tendency of mobocracy. Some persons think lightly of disturbances of the peace when abolitionists only are persecuted. The history of mobs warns against the belief that the rioters will be easily checked, or will be satisfied with a single object of attack. On Saturday the threats against abolition were beginning to be less frequent, and the mob began to talk of regulating other matters of public interest. It was, therefore, with good reason that the friends of certain institutions now began to deprecate “great popular movements.” One of the banks was guarded with armed men.

The mob, it will be remembered, commenced on Wednesday evening, the 16th of May. After it had run its course against abolition, the following proclamation was issued :

2000 Dollars Reward.

MAYOR'S OFFICE, May 23, 1838.

The excitement growing out of the daring outrage perpetrated against the laws having subsided, I take the earliest opportunity of making known to my fellow citizens my determination of adopting every means within my power to arrest and bring to trial those who so recklessly defied the Law. I, therefore, hereby offer a reward of TWO THOUSAND DOLLARS, for the apprehension and conviction of the vile perpetrator or perpetrators who, on Thursday night last, broke into and fired the Pennsylvania Hall.*

JOHN SWIFT, *Mayor.*

The account of the outrage had travelled to Harrisburg—the Governor had issued his proclamation—and it had been received in this city before that of the Mayor made its appearance. They were both published on the same day in the papers of this city. The Governor's is as follows :

PENNSYLVANIA, SS.

In the name and by the Authority of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania.

BY JOSEPH RITNER,

Governor of said Commonwealth.

A PROCLAMATION.

Whereas I have learned with the deepest regret that the soil of Pennsylvania has been disgraced, the rights of her peaceful citizens outraged, and their property destroyed by acts of lawless riot. For the first time the orderly city of Philadelphia has become the theatre of scenes heretofore only contemplated at a distance, as dangerous excesses on the part of others. They have now been enacted in our midst, and assumed a form the most destructive of property and domestic quiet, the most inimical to individual rights, and the most ruinous to social harmony and public order, that can be conceived. The torch of the incendiary has been applied by unmasked violators of law, in the darkness of night, in the heart of a crowded city, and for the avowed purpose of preventing the exercise of the constitutional and invaluable right of “the free communication of thoughts and opinions:”

And whereas, if it be true that “even error of opinion may be tolerated while reason is left free to combat it,” the practice of combating supposed error with the firebrand, or of punishing even crime without the established process of law, must be the very essence of tyranny :

And whereas it is the duty of the magistrate to protect all in the exercise of their constitutional rights without respect to the question whether their respective objects be or be not agreeable to himself or others, so long as their deportment is peaceful and the object lawful :

And whereas it is the duty of the Governor of this commonwealth, “to take care that the laws be faithfully executed,” especially in cases where enormity transcends the magnitude of common guilt :

Therefore, for the purpose of promoting and securing the apprehension of the wrong-doers in the premises, I, Joseph Ritner, Governor of the said Commonwealth, do hereby offer a reward of Five Hundred Dollars, for the apprehension and conviction of each and every person engaged in

* It is proper to state that the italicising in this proclamation is our own.

the burning of the building called the Pennsylvania Hall, in Sixth street, in the city of Philadelphia, on the night of Thursday, the 17th instant, or in setting fire to the building called the Orphans' Asylum, in Thirteenth street, in the said city, on the night of Friday, the 18th instant, to be paid on the due conviction of each and every one of the persons aforesaid.

And all Judges, Justices, Sheriffs, Coroners, Constables, and other Officers within this Commonwealth, are hereby required and enjoined to be attentive and vigilant in inquiring after and bringing to justice the person or persons guilty of the crime aforesaid.

Given under my hand and the Great Seal of the State, this twenty-second day of May, in the year of our Lord, one Thousand eight hundred and thirty-eight, and of the Commonwealth the sixty-second.

By the Governor.

THOMAS H. BURROWS,
Secretary of the Commonwealth.

In a few days after the burning of the Hall the following letter, enclosing the sum of *one hundred dollars*, was received by the Treasurer of the "Pennsylvania Hall Association." It was without date, but post-marked "Philadelphia, June 6th." The money has been appropriated as directed.

"The enclosed sum is intended to aid in disseminating, among the citizens of Pennsylvania, correct information respecting the anti-slavery cause, generally, and particularly what relates to the late disgraceful attack upon the right of free discussion by the mob who burned Pennsylvania Hall."

(Signed)

"A FRIEND OF LIBERTY AND HUMANITY."

The following minutes of a meeting of the stockholders of the Association show that the course pursued by the Managers of the Hall is approved by those whom they represented.

Philadelphia, Fifth month 30, 1838.

At a meeting of the stockholders of the "Pennsylvania Hall Association," held this evening in Sandiford Hall, John Longstreth was called to the chair, and George M. Alsop appointed Secretary.

The Managers presented a report of their proceedings, together with a detailed statement of the course pursued by them in regard to the destruction of the Pennsylvania Hall on the night of the 17th inst. The report was adopted; and on motion,

Resolved, That this meeting approve of the conduct of the Managers, and that the thanks of the stockholders are due, and hereby tendered to them, for their indefatigable attention to our interests in the erection of the "Pennsylvania Hall," and that we deeply sympathize with them in the undeserved trials through which they have passed.

Resolved, That the Managers be requested to continue their attention to the subject, and apply to the Court for the damages which they and we have sustained, as speedily as practicable, and that when received, after deducting all expenses and charges attending the erection of the Hall, that they divide the nett proceeds among the stockholders of this Association, rateably in proportion to the stock held by each.

JOHN LONGSTRETH, Chairman.

Attest—George M. Alsop, Secretary.

We now entreat our fellow citizens, for their own sakes, to make a stand against the spirit of mob insolence whose outrages we have detailed, and in asserting our rights protect their own. Who were the men who so lately assumed the ascendancy in this city, and trampled its laws in the dust? At the burning of our Hall, the Saloon contained a number of well-dressed men, (it being nearly as light as day,) and yet the officer who ventured among them "could not discover a single inhabitant of Philadelphia." The police officer of Spring Garden bears a similar testimony in relation to those

who attacked the "Shelter for Colored Orphans." Moreover, anonymous writers in Southern newspapers, calling themselves Southerners, have declared that they were present at the scene of destruction, and assisted in the work.

The gross and ridiculous charges brought against us, for the purpose of justifying the outrage, have no foundation in truth. We are conscious of no act which can be tortured into a departure from prudence or consistency, or our duty as citizens, and as men having in common with our fellow-men a deep stake in the public welfare and peace. The placards posted up on the night of the 14th, were no doubt decided upon (and probably written) before a word was said, or any act done at the dedication of the Hall. Individuals, who consider themselves respectable, are known to have threatened (whilst the building was erecting) that it would be burnt down as soon as it was finished.

We submit this statement to the candid perusal of our fellow citizens. It is not for ourselves that we make this appeal. Our building *has been* destroyed—we have *already* suffered all that we can suffer as the "Pennsylvania Hall Association." The damage has been done. Therefore, it is not for ourselves, or those whom we have the honor to represent, that we now appeal to the friends of order and law. It is for the rights of the citizens generally, for our country and our country's laws, that we ask them to frown down this lawless and evil spirit which is walking abroad, causing consternation and alarm to take the place of quiet confidence and security.

DANIEL NEALL,
HENRY GREW,
WILLIAM H. SCOTT,
JOSEPH WOOD,
THOMAS HANSELL,
CALEB CLOTHIER,
JACOB HAARS,

JOSEPH M. TRUMAN,
PETER WRIGHT,
SAMUEL WEBB,
WILLIAM DORSEY,
WILLIAM M'KEE,
JOHN H. CAVENDER,

Managers of the Pennsylvania Hall Association.



A P P E N D I X.

No. I.

IMMEDIATELY after the burning of the Hall, the Executive Committee of the Pennsylvania State Anti-Slavery Society, for the Eastern District, issued the following able and eloquent

A D D R E S S.

By a resolution adopted at the last session of the Pennsylvania Anti-Slavery Society, during the memorable week just elapsed, the Executive Committee of the Eastern District was instructed to address the public in relation to the events which led to the adjournment of the Society before the completion of the business which had been presented to it. In discharging the duty thus laid upon them, the Committee have prepared the following statement of facts, which, with the comments suggested by them, are commended to the careful perusal and attentive consideration of the people of Pennsylvania.

In pursuance of a regular call from the Executive Committee, the Society was convened in Philadelphia on the 16th inst. at the Pennsylvania Hall, a splendid building which had just been added to the architectural decorations of our city, and but two days before been opened, and dedicated to Free Discussion. Our hearts were cheered with the fact, that here, in a city where we had so long sought in vain for a convenient place in which to plead for the oppressed, and vindicate the rights of the poor, men of various opinions on political, religious and moral questions—on that of slavery and its proper remedy, among others—had erected a noble edifice which was at once an ornament to the city, and a refuge for the spirit of Liberty—an arena where mind might freely grapple with mind, and, to use the language of Jefferson, even “error of opinion might be tolerated, while reason was left free to combat it.” We rejoiced, for we felt confident that our principles, in the fair field of open argument, must triumph and prevail; and that we needed, therefore, but an opportunity to bring them fully before the minds of the people, to ensure the eventual approbation and co-operation of all whose favor and aid are truly desirable. We had attended the previous meetings of the week, and witnessed the solemnities of the dedication by which the Hall was consecrated to Freedom, and we felt it in our hearts, while we gave thanks to Freedom’s God for what our ears heard and our eyes saw, to congratulate our fellow citizens that they were the first to found a building specially designed for the free expression of opinion on every controverted subject.

Of such events of the week as preceded our meeting, we should say nothing, were it not that they are all so closely connected with each other and with the final catastrophe, as to render it necessary to the full understanding of the portion more particularly coming under our cognizance as the organ of the State Society, that a brief recital should be given. On the morning, then, of the 14th inst., a vast concourse of people of the city and adjacent country assembled at the first opening of the newly finished Hall, and as soon as the meeting was called to order, the Secretary of the

Board of Managers of the building made a concise statement of the purposes for which it was erected. Of this statement we here insert a copy.

"A number of individuals of all sects, and those of no sect,—of all parties, and those of no party—being desirous that the citizens of Philadelphia should possess a room, wherein the principles of *Liberty*, and *Equality of Civil Rights* could be freely discussed, and the evils of slavery fearlessly portrayed, have erected this building, which we are now about to dedicate to Liberty and the Rights of Man. The total cost of the building will be about 40,000 dollars. This has been divided into two thousand shares of twenty dollars each. A majority of the stockholders are mechanics, or working men, and (as is the case in almost every other good work,) a number are females.

The building is not to be used for anti-slavery purposes alone. It will be rented from time to time, in such portions as shall best suit applicants, for any purpose not of an immoral character. It is called "*Pennsylvania Hall*," in reference to the principles of Pennsylvania; and our Motto, like that of the commonwealth, is "VIRTUE, LIBERTY, AND INDEPENDENCE."

After the reading of letters from several individuals of note, in different parts of the country, the dedicatory address, an eloquent effort of a gifted mind, was pronounced by one of our distinguished citizens. His manly advocacy of sound principles—even though marred, as we could not but think by some remarks near his conclusion, which were inconsistent with the main tenor of his discourse, certainly ought not to have rendered either him or the place in which he spoke obnoxious to violence.

The exercises of the afternoon and evening—lyceum addresses and discussions, and the advocacy of the cause of temperance by one of our fellow citizens, and an eminent champion of that good cause from a sister state, and that too, a slaveholding state, furnished an exemplification of the principles of impartial freedom on which the management of the Hall was to be conducted. On the next day, an appropriate dedicatory poem was recited, copies of which are already in the hands of hundreds, and may be of hundreds more, if they choose to procure them, and ascertain whether the effusion contains any just provocation to outrage. The importance and rightfulness of free discussion were then set forth by one speaker, and an appeal in behalf of the American Aborigines was made by another. Strange, indeed may we well think it, if either of these topics should excite the ire of Philadelphians. In the afternoon, the Lyceum again occupied the building, and in the evening another champion for free discussion appeared in the person of a distinguished member of our state Legislature, and the right of petition was maintained by Alvyn Stewart, of New York. On the morning of the 16th, at eight o'clock, the State Society met, appointed its committees, made arrangements for its subsequent sessions, and at ten gave way for the commencement of a full and free disenssion of slavery, emancipation, whether immediate or gradual, colonization, and all other topics connected with these. This discussion had been announced on the previous day, and to it had been invited the advocates of every possible variety of sentiment on the subjects mentioned—slaveholders, colonizationists, gradualists, immediatists, friends and foes, and neutrals, and middle ground men, if any such there are. Could any thing more be reasonably demanded by the most strenuous defender of slavery itself, or of any practice or doctrine, which, as abolitionists, we oppose? And is not the measure finally adopted by our opponents, conclusive evidence, under these circumstances, that slavery can never endure the light, but must perish under the scorching rays of free investigation; and that the various schemes resorted to for palliating its evils, and gradually effecting its abolition, are in the same condemnation?

The discussion of Wednesday morning, it is true, was nearly all on one, and that on the right side, but it was only because the champions of error shrunk from the contest—not because a fair field was not offered them.

A second session of the State Society occupied the first two hours of the

afternoon, and the remainder was devoted, by a very numerous auditory, to hearing from Alvan Stewart a calm and dispassionate address on slavery.

Before proceeding further, it may be proper to fall back in order of time, and mention that on the 15th, a large and highly respectable Anti-Slavery Convention of American Women had assembled in the session room of the Hall, in pursuance of an adjournment from last spring ; and that the occasion had brought together many of the noblest minds, and of the best and purest hearts among the women of our country,—minds capable of grasping, with prevailing strength, subjects of a magnitude and difficulty, which masculine vigor would deem it an honor to master,—and hearts that, while they could melt and bleed for human wo, could also dare high things for the promotion of human happiness, and beat with calm and even pulse in the presence of danger encountered in the path of duty. A strong desire had been expressed by many in the city, to hear some of these able pleaders for the cause of truth and humanity ; and it was arranged that on the evening of the 16th, a meeting should be held, at which some of our devoted sisters, as well as some of our own sex, should speak for the suffering and the dumb. Notice was accordingly given to that effect, and the name of a daughter of Carolina, too well known to need a repetition here, was announced among those of the expected speakers. Before the appointed hour had arrived, the large Saloon, capable of containing more than three thousand people, was closely and compactly crowded, from the platform to the remotest corners of the galleries—every seat filled, every aisle densely thronged, every inch of space apparently occupied. It is proper to state that this meeting was not under the direction of the Managers of the Hall, or of the State Society.

Threats of violence had been thrown out during the day, but it was hard to believe that our hitherto orderly city could be made the theatre of mob-outrage, and we had repaired to the place of convocation, trusting that these menaces were but idle breath, to which no attempt would be made to give a substantial body. Even the written placard, which had been posted about the streets, inviting to interference, *forcible, if necessary*, and calling for an assemblage at the Hall on Wednesday morning, to "demand the immediate dispersion of the Convention," was looked upon, rather as an ebullition of the malice, folly, and wickedness of a few, or perhaps a single person, than as a cause of alarm for our personal safety, the quiet of our meeting, or the tranquillity of the city. The time fixed by the placard for an unlawful assemblage, had passed without a response to the incendiary call, and our confidence in the peaceable disposition of the inhabitants of Philadelphia, and their respect for the reputation of their city, had up to this time remained unshaken.

The exercises of the evening were commenced by a short address from Wm. L. Garrison, after which Maria W. Chapman was introduced to the audience ; but before she could step forward to the desk, a loud yell from without proclaimed the presence of a disorderly rabble in the streets, and such was the tumult which ensued, augmented by several voices within the Hall, that her brief remarks were lost by all except a few of the thousands present.

She was followed by our sister from the South, who, with deep solemnity of manner, and with words of weight and power, gave her impressive testimony against that institution of complicated wickedness, which, as a native of a slave state, and long a resident in the midst of slavery, she has had such full opportunities for observing, and such ample means of thoroughly understanding. The commotion without still continued, waxing louder and more turbulent at each successive shout, and at length the

crashing of glass mingled with the cries of the mob, as stones were hurled against the windows, on every accessible side of the building. Through all this wild tumult, the speaker held on her course, undaunted and unmoved, availing herself as she went on, of the very circumstances of seeming discouragement by which she was surrounded, to enforce her appeals, and point her arguments, and bring more closely home the truths she uttered to the understanding and conscience of all who could hear her. These, notwithstanding the din and clamor which shut out her voice from many eagerly listening ears, constituted a large portion of the assembly. Short addresses were made by two or three others after she had closed; and at the usual hour the meeting was dismissed, and the people quietly dispersed. Thus far the rioters were completely defeated in their main design, of breaking up the assembly in confusion; but it was not for want of violent exertions on their part. By cries of fire, by yells and screams, and a variety of appalling sounds—by making occasionally a tumultuous rush, as if to break furiously into the saloon, they endeavored to terrify the congregation, and effect its precipitate dispersion; but though two or three times, in the earlier part of the disturbance, a momentary alarm overspread the house, and brought many to their feet as if to leave, yet under the efforts of the friends of order, this soon subsided, and at length the steady calmness and cool composure of the speakers seemed to have diffused itself extensively among the audience, and tranquillized its brief agitation. Most resumed their seats, and comparatively few retired before the dismissal of the meeting.

While the assembly was retiring, and after it had completely dispersed, the mob in a dense mass still occupied the streets, and discharged several volleys of stones at the windows. A number of colored persons, as they came out, were brutally assaulted, and one, at least, was severely injured. During the riotous proceedings of this evening, several constables, as we are credibly informed, were on the ground, but under express orders from the City Solicitor to attempt no arrests.

How long the lawless concourse remained together, we are unable to say; but when the meeting of Thursday morning was convened, the building was surrounded by groups of persons, whose appearance and conversation indicated no good intentions or peaceable designs. This assemblage, fluctuating, doubtless, and changing more or less in its constituent parts as some retired and others supplied their places, continued to hold its station through the whole day, but without attempting any outrage, or doing more than to offer occasional insults to some of those who were passing to and from the meetings within.

The session room was occupied at eight in the morning, by a convention which had been called to devise means for the encouragement of requited labor; and at ten the Convention of American Women assembled in the Saloon. The same Conventions met in the Saloon in the afternoon—one at two o'clock and the other at four; the session of the latter continuing until about sunset. The evening was to have been occupied by a public meeting of the Wesleyan Anti-Slavery Society of the M. E. Church of Philadelphia, at which a preacher of that denomination, distinguished for his able advocacy of human rights, was expected to speak.

The Board of Managers of the Hall had deemed it their duty, in the morning of this day, to communicate to the Mayor of the city, and the Sheriff of the county, information of the preceding evening's outrage, and of the arrangement for the coming afternoon and evening meetings as well as of those expected on the subsequent days of the week; and to call on these officers for that protection which their official obligations required them to render. The communications to which we allude, have already been made

public by the Board of Managers, together with the replies of the Mayor and Sheriff, the latter of whom stated that all the force he had at command consisted of three men, with whom of course he could do nothing, but that his personal, official, and moral influence should be exerted for the suppression of disorder; while the former promised to go and *make a speech* to the mob, but said he could do nothing more. It should not be forgotten that this is the same man, who, last year, at a time when no mob was in existence, upon the bare apprehension that a meeting of one of the political parties, called to convene in Independence Square and express opinions unfavorable to the banks, might result in riotous conduct which would endanger the property of those corporations, took vigorous measures of prevention; putting the police in readiness for prompt action, and even, if we are correctly informed, placing the military under arms, and stationing them in such points as it was conjectured might require their presence for the maintenance of tranquillity. We mention this fact, as an evidence of what are the Mayor's own notions of his duty when the peace of the city is supposed to be in peril.

To return to our narrative. As the day rolled on, the indications of approaching violence became more and more alarming—the crowd around the devoted building grew more dense and more excited; busy agents of mischief were passing from group to group, circulating falsehoods and calumnies against the abolitionists, and inflaming passions which even now needed allaying; citizens of other states, slaveholders actual and slaveholders expectant, mingled in the mass, to leaven it yet more thoroughly with a spirit of reckless desperation, and increase its already over-abundant fermentation and effervescence; while, so far as we could discern, little or nothing was done by those whose official duty was the preservation of peace, to avert the coming storm. On the contrary we have strong reasons for believing that the previous course of the Mayor had a tendency to encourage violence, and invite aggression upon the rights of a portion of his constituents.

Some of these reasons will appear as we proceed. Nor is it the least painful circumstance in connection with these transactions, that men of standing and respectability, substantial merchants, and influential citizens, so far from expressing their decided and heart-felt abhorrence of the threatened outrage, and exerting their influence to calm the excitement, to maintain inviolate the rights of their fellow citizens, and preserve unsullied the reputation of their city, either looked on in cold indifference, or, as was in many instances the case, expressed both in language and action their unequivocal approbation and encouragement.

A few minutes before the appointed hour of the evening meeting, several persons repaired to the Hall for the purpose of attending it, but found the door closed and locked. It was soon ascertained that the Mayor had requested of the Board of Managers, the keys of the building, promising if they were given into his possession, that he would take upon himself the responsibility of protecting the building, which otherwise he said he could not do, and that the Managers had complied with his request. Of course all idea of holding the intended meeting was abandoned. But the mob did not abandon *their* design.

The Mayor, according to his morning promise, appeared in front of the building, and made them a speech—in which he expressed the *hope* that nothing of a disorderly nature would be done, stated that the house had been given up to him for the night, and that there would be no meeting, that he *relied on them as his police*, and trusted they would abide by the laws and keep order; and then concluded by wishing them good evening

The mob responded with "three cheers for the Mayor," and he withdrew, leaving them neither dispersed nor pacified.

It is understood that the Mayor subsequently returned, but it was then too late for an efficient exertion of his authority. The rioters had commenced their work. The gas lights in front of the Hall were extinguished, and an impetuous onset made, first upon the north and then upon the eastern side.

The Sheriff's efforts, as every one must have anticipated in such circumstances, were of no avail, and his call on the miscellaneous crowd for that assistance, which on other occasions would probably have been ensured by efficient measures beforehand, was equally unsuccessful. After some strenuous, but fruitless efforts, therefore, to stem the swelling torrent, he also withdrew, and the object of attack was left wholly at the mercy of the passion-maddened, and doubtless rum-inflamed assailants. From the cries with which they cheered each other on, it was manifest that they regarded the city authorities as willing, if not desirous that the work of destruction should proceed. The tale of what followed we need not recite at length. It has already been written in ruddy crimson on the clouds of heaven, and been read by the thronging thousands of the astonished city, in the unnatural glare which reddened the darkness of that terrific night. Encouraging each other with loud shouts, they rushed to the assault—shattered the windows, and battered furiously at the doors, the strength of which for nearly twenty minutes resisted the attack, but at length gave way, and left free access to the interior. Then came the plunder of the book depository and the scattering of its contents among the crowd—the flash of the lighted torch along the deserted aisles—the heaping of light combustibles on the speaker's forum, and firing the pile—the wrenching of the gas pipes from their places, and adding their quickly kindled current to the rising flames—the shout which greeted the outbursting conflagration, as it rolled upward along the walls, and roared and crackled in the fresh night breeze, while the motto of the beautiful Hall, "Virtue, Liberty and Independence," shone clearly for a moment in the dazzling light, and was then effaced for ever—the fiend-like cry which went upward as the roof fell in, a blazing ruin—and smouldering and blackened walls alone remained, in place of the costly and splendid edifice.

The fire companies with their engines had come early upon the ground, but not a drop of water was thrown upon the Hall, till its destruction was ensured beyond possibility of prevention. Till then, the firemen confined their efforts to preserving the surrounding buildings, and such of their number as were disposed to play upon the object of attack, were prevented from doing so by the mob.

On the morning of the 18th, at 8 o'clock, the members of the State Society agreeably to adjournment, met together by the ruins of the Hall. There, with the smoking walls above them, and traces of the destruction around them, they proceeded to business. One of the Vice-Presidents of the Society presided. A motion was made and carried to adjourn to Sandisford Hall, where the resolution was passed, authorising the publication of this address in the name of the Society. As the Hall was too small to contain even the members of the Society, and as at such a crisis, it was deemed important that our meetings, if held at all, should be public, and open to the community, the Society adjourned to meet at such time and place as the Executive Committee might decide upon hereafter. The committees which had been appointed at a previous meeting were continued.

The foregoing is, we feel assured, a faithful presentation of the facts connected with this outrage. We now ask our fellow citizens, what action is required at the hands of freemen and lovers of order, and law? Men

high in authority have manifested an unholy sympathy with the prejudices and passions of the mob—the chosen guardians of the public peace, have manifestly yielded to the popular clamor—and suffered their authority to be made the sport and ridicule of lawless men. Ought we to be—can we be instrumental in retaining men in office, who have thus proved unworthy of their trust—and left the property of the citizens a prey to violence. Are not all who love right and approve just law and desire peace and good order, bound to withhold, in every form, their support and their suffrages from every applicant for public favor or official stations, who will not explicitly avow his disapprobation of the recent lawless proceedings, and his determination to uphold the supremacy of the law, and to maintain, so far as in him lies, without regard to the popularity or unpopularity of the right, or of its exercise, or its possessor, every right of every portion of the people?

We pause not now to notice in detail the many and gross calumnies against us which have been industriously circulated throughout this community. Suffice it for us to declare that of those which have reached our ears not one is warranted by unexaggerated truth. The voice of that truth is now lost in the hurricane of popular tumult. But, we feel conscious that in the hour of reflection and calm consideration which must follow the present excitement,—when reason shall assert its prerogative over prejudice and passion,—that justice will be awarded us by all upon whose good opinion we place a value. Possessing our souls in patience we abide our time. Strong in our own integrity and uprightness in this matter, with unaccusing consciences, and regretting only our lack of zeal and energy heretofore in the cause of holy liberty, we feel ourselves called by the events of the past week to renewed and more efficient efforts. Not in vain, we trust, has the persecution fallen upon us. Fresher and purer for its fiery baptism the cause lives in our hearts. We now know and feel our responsibilities. Called, even in our weakness, to stand forth as the asserters and defenders of freedom in the place and hour of her extremest peril, woe unto us if we falter through the fear of man! If, shrinking from a manifest call of duty, we yield up great PRINCIPLES a sacrifice to popular fury,—if to save life and property we offer up all that can make the one tolerable or the other useful, we commit a crime against God and humanity, which words cannot measure. Were we to yield a single principle at this crisis the voice of a world's execration would justly brand us as TRAITORS TO LIBERTY.

Citizens of Pennsylvania! your rights as well as ours have been violated in this dreadful outrage. The blow has been aimed at the universal rights of man! The sacrifice of a beautiful temple dedicated to liberty, and bearing the motto of our state, "VIRTUE, LIBERTY AND INDEPENDENCE," has been made to SOUTHERN SLAVERY—to a system whose advocates unblushingly declare that the laborer should *every where*, at the North as well as the South, in Pennsylvania as well as in Carolina, be made *the property of the employer and capitalist*. In the heart of your free city—within view of the Hall of Independence, whose spire and roof reddened in the flame of the sacrifice—the deed has been done,—and the shout which greeted the falling ruin was the shout of Slavery over the grave of Liberty. It was such as greeted the ear of the Russian despot over the dead corses and smouldering ruins of conquered Warsaw—such as the Turkish tyrant heard amidst the ghastly horrors of Scio. We ask of you as men jealous of your own rights, and your own liberties, to reflect upon the inevitable consequences which must follow the toleration of such an outrage. If you have studied the history of past republics, you have not yet

to learn that the sacrifice of the rights of a part of the community has ended in the enslavement of all. The rights of the individual have never been disregarded by any nation or people with impunity. It is an ordinance of Providence that, that community which violates its own principles for the purpose of depriving any of its members of their acknowledged rights, digs in so doing the grave of its own liberties. We appeal to you not for our own sakes, but for the sake of great principles whose preservation is as necessary to yourselves as to us. We ask you to look at the scenes which for the last few years have disgraced our country in the eyes of the world, and rendered insecure the rights of the citizen, all tending to one result—all having a common object—the suppression of free inquiry on a subject which of all others should be open to freemen—the subject of Human Rights. Call to mind the presses destroyed—the churches broken open—the family altars profaned by violence—the bloody scenes of Alton and St. Louis—the scourging of a freeman in the streets of Nashville—the imprisonment of Crandall in our Nation's Capitol—the thousand mobs, in short, which have usurped the authority of law—justified and sustained by men of high influence, and virtually countenanced by the sworn guardians of the public weal. Look to the Halls of Legislation—to the three repeated violation of the Constitution of the United States by Congress itself—the denial of the right of petition—the infamous resolutions of Southern Legislatures addressed to those of the free states, calling for the enactment of laws forbidding under pains and penalties all discussion on the subject of the rights of man! Are these matters of light importance? Are Pennsylvanians prepared to yield up their dearest rights to perpetuate a system which cannot live in connection with the free exercise of those rights—which shrinks from the light—which is safe only in darkness—which howls in agony at the first sunbeam of truth that touches it? Will they allow it to overstep its legal boundary and trample on the free institutions of Pennsylvania? To smite down the majesty of *our* law—to hunt after the lives of *our* citizens—to shake its bloody hands in defiance of *our* rights within sight of the Hall of Independence, and over the graves of Franklin and Rush and Morris?—No! The old spirit of Pennsylvania yet lives along her noble rivers—and the fastnesses of her mountains are still the homes of Liberty. To that spirit we appeal in confidence and in hope.

Our principles as abolitionists have often been proclaimed in the ear of the people, and may be known to all men. That they are wickedly misrepresented, and to a great extent misunderstood, is therefore not our fault. We deplore the fact, but know of no way to avoid its repetition. If an earnest and solemn reiteration of the truths we believe and seek to disseminate, can convince our fellow citizens of the sincerity of our belief and the singleness of our purpose, this shall not be wanting. But when it is demanded of us to relinquish principles which we believe to be founded in everlasting truth, and which have been embraced under a solemn sense of responsibility to our fellow men, our country, and our God, we dare not obey the call. Standing up, in the Divine Providence, between the living and the dead, we should be false to our trust if we abandoned our position. We would not willingly outrage public sentiment; but if a firm adherence to the True and the Right, and an untiring advocacy of the principles upon which rational liberty is based, call down the vengeance of the populace upon our heads, we throw the responsibility of violated law where it belongs—upon that corruption of the public heart which is the certain result of a departure from the political faith of the fathers of our land, and an unmanly subserviency to the Demon of American Slavery.

The existence and the inalienability of human rights, we believe and maintain. Is there moral treason in this? Were Thomas Jefferson and his compatriots guilty of treason when they declared that "all men are created equal, and endowed BY THEIR CREATOR with certain inalienable rights, among which are life, LIBERTY, and the pursuit of happiness?" Were the founders and the fathers of this commonwealth insane and fanatical when they acted out this great truth, the utterance of which has been as an earthquake to shake down the tyrant and the despot from their thrones? Is our Bill of Rights a splendid fiction, and were those who framed it fools? Perhaps it is too much to expect that amid the excitement of the present hour, men will look back to long acknowledged truths with a willingness to perceive their importance, and act in accordance with them; but we are persuaded that when the tempest, which is now raging, shall be overpast, as it soon will be, a recurrence to first principles will show, even to our present persecutors, that we are right—that we have acted in accordance with the Constitution of our common land, and have violated no law, human or divine.

Constitutions and laws may protect, but they do not bestow HUMAN RIGHTS. These are incident to, and inseparable from human nature. They are the gift of God to man. They are indissolubly connected with our duties, and he who presumptuously interferes with one, does violence to the other. The will of our Heavenly Father has been manifested in their bestowal, and he, therefore, who attempts to wrest them away, tramples upon that will, and wars against God.

American Slavery does this. In robbing man of personal ownership, and branding him before earth and Heaven as a piece of mere merchandise, it at once degrades human nature, and insults Jehovah. Its claim upon man is an outrage upon his Maker. Its very existence is a sin against God, which should be immediately repented of, and for ever abandoned. The South, itself, admits that if our premise be correct, our conclusion is irresistible. But the slaveholder has taken the ground that slavery is not a sin. Here, then, we are at issue. All that we ask is a full and candid hearing before our country and the world, and we fear not for the result. For the wicked casuistry of some of our Northern moralists, who admit that slaveholding is in itself a sin, yet contend that its immediate abandonment would be a greater sin, we have less respect than for the bolder and more consistent course of those who contend that it is an institution of Divine appointment, baptized by the teachings of Christ, and recognised as sacred by the Apostles.

But it is objected that whatever be the moral complexion of slavery, separated from it as we are by geographical boundaries we have nothing to do with it—that whatever may be the sufferings of the slave, or the pollutions of the system, it is no concern of ours. No concern of ours! As if we were not of woman born, and could not feel for human woe. As if we were not American citizens, jealous for the honor of our common country! As if slavery, with its hot and fetid breath, was not blighting and withering our dearest hopes and our fairest prospects; with iron foot trampling upon liberty in her own home; and, with hand of sacrilege, staining the altars of freedom with the blood of her murdered martyrs! As if we felt not the requirements of God bound upon our consciences, and responsibilities from Him laid upon us which we cannot shake off! American Slavery is a concern of ours; for we are American citizens. Our country is weakened in its mental, its moral, and its physical power, by the existence of slavery. This, alone, has rendered us a hissing and a by-word among the nations of the earth. It is a stain upon our escutcheon—a

plague-spot upon our national reputation. It is a sin, and a curse, and a shame; and we can cease to be partakers in the iniquity only by faithfully rebuking it, and laboring for its overthrow. That benevolence which is bounded by caste or complexion, is not the benevolence of Christ. The fellowship which would leave our neighbor in his sin unwarned, is a fellowship abhorrent to God. "Thou shalt in any wise rebuke thy neighbor, and not suffer sin upon him," is an injunction of Holy Writ which it becomes us to obey. In obedience to it, and to the voice of humanity pleading for the trampled and the poor, we have labored for the redemption of the slave from his bonds, and our country from its deadliest curse. We have labored from a solemn conviction of duty. From the same conviction, deepened by the events of the past week, we shall continue to toil. If we are heretics, ours is a heresy which cannot be burned out of us by fire. With a calm reliance upon God for justice to our principles, our motives, and our measures, we shall go forward in the arduous work we have begun; not, indeed, as reckless bravers of public opinion, but as men fearing God rather than man, and having the assurance that our principles will ultimately triumph over violence and prejudice and error. We labor not for ourselves alone, but for the best and highest earthly interests of those whose hand is lifted against us—for our land, and for the world—for the great interests of humanity universally.

It may be proper for us to notice one charge which has been urged against us, as furnishing an excuse for the violence of the mob. We are accused of allowing our colored fellow-citizens to sit without molestation in different parts of the Saloon:—in other words, of having no particular place or gallery assigned to colored men and women. We freely admit this; we should have been false to our principles if we had refused to admit men of every sect, rank, and color, on terms of equality, to witness our proceedings. In so doing, we have but acted in accordance with the sentiments of the old fathers of Pennsylvania freedom, as expressed in the Emancipation act of 1780.

"It is not for us to inquire why, in the creation of mankind, the inhabitants of the several parts of the earth were distinguished by a difference in feature or complexion. It is sufficient to know that all are the work of an Almighty hand. We find in the distribution of the human species, that the most fertile as well as the most barren parts of the earth are inhabited by men of complexions different from ours, and from each other; from whence we may reasonably, as well as religiously, infer, that he who placed them in their various situations, hath extended equally his care and protection to all, and that it becometh not us to counteract his mercies."—(See *Emancipation act of 1780.*)

It has been alleged too, that it is part of the design of abolitionists to promote intermarriages between the whites and colored people; and the false and absurd charge of advocating amalgamation, has been used perhaps more effectually than any other, in exciting and arraying against us the passions, prejudice, and fury of the mob. This charge has been so often denied, and from its first presentation has stood so entirely on the bare assertion of our calumniators, unsupported by proof, that nothing but its vociferous reiteration at the present time, and its injurious influence on the minds of the ignorant and misinformed, would induce us again to allude to it, as we now do, for the purpose of once more reprobating against it our explicit denial. The real amalgamators are not the abolitionists, but the slave-holders of the South. What they falsely accuse us of *recommending* to be done with the sanctions of morality and law, *they shamelessly practise* under circumstances of the grossest immorality. Were all the slave children

of the South to follow the condition of their fathers, a work of gradual emancipation would be going on more rapidly, and slavery would be in greater danger of speedy annihilation, than many at the North imagine.

To one other accusation we will briefly attend. It has been currently reported, that one of the speakers at the Hall pronounced Washington a thief and a robber. The assertion is utterly false. The only allusion made to Washington, during the whole course of the exercises, was one which was couched in terms of eulogy. He was mentioned as having enrolled his own name among the enemies of slavery, and with the solemnity of a dying testimony, in the form of a will, emancipating his slaves, to have set the seal of his condemnation upon the iniquitous system.

Such are our principles, and such the feelings that have impelled, and still impel us onward. We have no secret nor ulterior views. We shrink not from the scrutiny of our fellow-men. Nay, we invite that scrutiny. We court investigation, satisfied that it will result in the diffusion of truths which we hold dear, and the advancement of the cause of outraged humanity.

If it be inquired of us what course we mean to pursue in this time of our trial, our answer is brief. We shall move onward in the right line of duty, persevering in the promulgation and defence of those righteous principles which we have ever upheld, confining ourselves, as we ever have done, to the exertion of moral power, and the use of peaceful means. We shall plead with renewed and still increasing energy, the cause of the down-trodden poor, acknowledging in our practice, as well as our words, the universal brotherhood of man, and that we *believe*, what almost all *profess*, that "all men are created equal" in rights, and that those rights are inalienable. We are well aware that the worldly-wise would recommend a temporising expediency—a pause in our exertions—a bending to the storm, till its fury be overpast. The rhetoric may be fine which enforces such counsel, with similes of the reed rising after the blast, and the rigid oak shivered and prostrated for its obstinacy; but the policy it recommends we utterly repudiate. The yielding reed may rise, but it bends again at the next gust. Who would lean on it for support? Who would rely on it as a prop to his feeble steps? The pliancy which saves it, proves it not worth saving. No!—never let this supple plant which seeks safety by tamely bowing before violence, be the emblem of the Anti-Slavery cause or its advocates. Let them be rather like the rock rooted oak which gathers fresh strength from its resistance to the tempest, and, never bending till it breaks, continues to give support to those who recline against it, as long as it can sustain itself. Are we told of the events of the past week, and warned of the future? Our answer is ready. We should be craven and recreant indeed, if, when not our own rights alone, but those of the enslaved millions of our sinful land,—of the millions yet to be born to an inheritance of degradation and oppression, or of liberty and honor, according as we succeed or fail, are depending on the issue of our moral enterprise, we should tremble and falter, and shrink from the contest as soon as it waxes warm, and thickens with difficulty, and toil, and peril. Are we pointed to the smoking ruins of that beautiful Temple of Freedom, which we fondly hoped would long have echoed the noble and free sentiments of a Franklin, a Rush, a Benezet, a Lay, and as we look sadly on its early downfall, are we bidden to learn hence the fate of our own dwellings, if we persevere? Think not the intimation will drive us from our post. No! rather will we gather in handfuls, the yet warm ashes of the ruined edifice, and cast them toward heaven, that they may come down in boils and blains upon the monster

Slavery, eating with caustic energy to his very vitals, and consuming his life-blood with what he had vainly deemed should be his nourishment. We shall go on then, calmly but firmly. Our work is too holy, too great, too intimately inwoven with all that we hold dear for ourselves, or value for our fellowmen, or desire for our posterity, to be lightly abandoned at the appearance of difficulty, or timidly given over at the approach of danger. We feel that God has called us to this work, and if it is his purpose that we should finish what we have begun, he can preserve us, though it be as in the lion's den, or the seven-fold heated furnace;—that he will deliver us out of every danger, and uphold us by His free Spirit, until all is accomplished that he has given us to do. If he has otherwise ordained, and designs to permit the wicked to triumph for a little season, and the witnesses for his truth to be slain in the streets of our city, we shall have at least the satisfaction of reflecting that we fall in the post of duty, with our wounds in the breast and not the back; and that he whose work we are doing can raise up other laborers to reap the rich harvest whose seed we have sown, and whose growth our blood will have nourished.

Signed on behalf of the Society,

DANIEL NEALL,
PETER WRIGHT,
WM. H. SCOTT,
JAMES WOOD,
WM. HARNED,
WM. A. GARRIGUES,

SAMUEL WEBB,
LEWIS BEEBE,
ABM. L. PENNOCK,
JOSEPH M. TRUMAN,
LEWIS C. GUNN,

Executive Committee.

Philadelphia, May 22d, 1838.

No. II.

THE Philadelphia Lyceum subsequently rescinded their resolution found on page 36; but not in time to allow their proceedings to be inserted in the order of time in which they occurred. That the reader may have an idea of the nature of those exercises we give the following as a specimen:

ESSAY

ON THE PHYSICAL EDUCATION OF CHILDREN. BY J. L. PEIRCE, M. D.

WERE we to examine the whole catalogue of subjects which have claimed the attention of mankind from the earliest date at which paper possessed the magic charm of receiving and communicating the thoughts of others, we should find none of such vital importance to us, as animated beings, as that which we are about to consider. The physical education of children seems, by an almost universal consent, to have been entirely neglected. The intellect alone has claimed attention, while that portion of the system, upon whose healthy organization and developement the strength and vigor of the intellect depends, has been entirely disregarded. It is my intention, in the present essay, to point out some of the fundamental errors in the present mode of education, and to show the importance and advantages re-

sulting from a rational and philosophical course, which may be in accordance with the principles upon which our bodies are constituted.

The physical education of children should commence with the very commencement of their existence. Pure and fresh air is as necessary to the formation and arterialization of their blood, as it is of those of more mature years; but how little is this generally considered. We might suppose from the great care which is often manifested to prevent the least ingress of it into the apartment of the young infant, that the functions of their lungs was different from our own, and that that atmosphere which nature had provided for the nourishment and support of the rest of her animated creation, was not suited to their organization; that man was wiser than his Creator in the adaptation of means to their end; and that, consequently, an atmosphere rendered impure by oft-repeated exhalation and admixture with one of the most deleterious gases, was more suited to their nourishment and support than the pure air which nature had provided for the purpose. This, however, is not the case. Oxygen is the great vivifying and purifying principle of the blood; and is as requisite for the healthy respiration of infants, as of adults. And inasmuch as the Creator of the universe has so constituted the atmosphere that it bears a suitable relation to the organization of our lungs, so as to promote their healthy action and the vigor of the whole system; and inasmuch as her laws in relation to the *physical structure* cannot be violated with impunity, any more than they can in relation to any *other* portion of her works,—it, therefore, follows that, in proportion as we deprive children of a free and healthy respiration, we lay the foundation of disease by preventing the due formation of that vital principle, of which all portions of the system are constituted. Hence I wish it to be considered as an established maxim never to be departed from, that pure air is absolutely essential to the perfect developement of the constitution from the earliest periods of infancy.

Another fundamental error in the physical education of children, and one which increases with the increase of civilization and refinement, arises from the natural fondness of parents for their offspring, and their mistaken notions of kindness and duty in relation to them. They naturally watch every budding of the intellect, and feel desirous of hastening its development; and, either ignorant of the laws which govern our physical organization, or, regardless of their requirements, they use every exertion to expand the swelling bud and develope its beauties and its fragrance before the plant shall have become sufficiently matured for the purpose. They seem to think that the mind has a separate existence from the body, and that its cultivation and improvement can be carried to any extent without any reference to the physical organization through which all its operations are manifested. This, however, is a mistaken notion. Mind and matter are most intimately connected, and in proportion as the brain, which is the organ of the mind, becomes diseased, will be the disturbance of our mental operations. It seems to me useless, in this enlightened day, to adduce proof to substantiate this position; but, if proof be wanting, I will refer to cases of sickness, where, the moment the brain becomes affected, reason abdicates her throne, and wild delirium assumes the command over all of the faculties of the mind; or in cases of accidents or of surgical operations, where any and every portion of the body, not immediately essential to vitality, is oft-times removed without injury to the mental faculties, so long as the brain remains in a sound and healthy condition, but the moment you disturb *its* organization and destroy its texture, that moment the dependence of the mind upon it becomes established beyond a possibility of doubt. The cases of idiots might also be adduced as a further confirmation

of our position. In *them*, we find the whole of the physical organization perfect, except the head—and here the doctrine of phrenologists is most uncontestedly confirmed in the deficiency of that portion of the brain in which are located the intellectual and reasoning faculties. Hence we find that a sound and perfect brain is absolutely essential to a sound and vigorous mind; and, in proportion as the former is diseased or injured, so the manifestations of the latter will be likewise impaired.

But another highly important function of the brain is, that of its being the source of the nervous influence of the whole body. This, however, is entirely distinct from its intellectual duties, though equally dependant on its healthy and vigorous action. I *will* to raise my arm, and it obeys me; I *will* to put it down again, and it is likewise performed. The will emanates from the brain; the nerves, which are the messengers of the brain, carry its commands to the muscles, and these, if in a healthy condition, execute them by means of their contractile power. But, supposing the one-half of a person's body to be under the effects of palsy, the will may issue its commands, but, in consequence of the paralyzed condition of the brain, it cannot exert that nervous influence which acts as a stimulus, and is absolutely necessary for the performance of the required motion. Such is likewise the case with a person who is intoxicated, or who is under the influence of a narcotic;—the nervous energy of the brain is, in both instances, impaired; so that, although he may *will* to do, yet the influence of the brain is not sufficient to enable him to put his will into execution.

Hence we perceive the necessity of ascertaining the laws by which the brain and mind are governed; for if these laws are infringed, we cannot expect their emanations to be of a healthy character.

One of the laws, then,—the observance of which we shall state as being essential to the due developement and subsequent vigor of the mental faculties,—relates to the *proper exercise* of the organ from which these faculties emanate. There is the greatest conceivable difference between the developement of a mental faculty, and the developement of the physical organ upon which all of the mental faculties depend. In other words, there is a vast difference between cultivating the mind of a child by initiating him into the rudiments of the various sciences,—teaching him the different classics,—leading him into the intricate mazes of the mathematical studies,—causing him to commit to memory abstract propositions which he cannot understand, and requiring of him a stretch of the imaginative powers to grasp the whole of nature's works and scrutinize the cause of all her varied operations: I say there is a vast difference between thus improving the mind or cultivating the intellect of a child, and simply promoting the growth and consolidation of that organ, the brain, upon the strength and perfection of which, not only the *health and life* of the child, but also the *permanency of these very faculties themselves* depend. For the brain is a portion of our physical frame, and is consequently subject to the same physical laws by which the rest of it is governed. And, if we examine these laws, we shall find that a due degree of exercise is essential to the growth and developement of every portion of the body. By means of it the blood circulates more freely throughout the whole system, the respiration is more efficient, the powers of digestion are more active, the process of absorption and nutrition is rendered more vigorous, muscle, bone, sinew, and nerve, become formed of better materials and of a larger size, and the strength and energy of every portion of it are proportionally increased. Thus our every day observation teaches us that the muscles of the arms of a blacksmith, or of a bricklayer, or of a carpenter, are of much larger dimensions than those of a gentleman, so called, who has been brought up in the lap of indolence, and eaten of the bread of idle-

ness ; and the same observation may be made respecting the lower limbs of a farmer, or of any other person in whom these members of the body are greatly exercised. And similar observations may be made respecting the *bony* fabric of the system. The peculiar office or function of all these various portions of our bodies is to administer to our physical necessities. But we should be careful not to carry the duties required of them beyond certain limits, and particularly before they shall have arrived at the full period of developement ; for if the muscles of a lad, who is rapidly running up into manhood, are unduly exercised, instead of that exercise administering to the tone and strength of the muscular fibre, it has an opposite effect, and the individual becomes weakened and emaciated. And if we pursue the practice so generally, though erroneously, adopted, of causing an infant to walk before the bones of the limbs and lower portion of the body become thoroughly converted from their cartilaginous to a bony state, we injure the frame-work of the system, and produce a permanent deformity, which, in many instances, is productive of the utmost mischief in subsequent years. But it is not in bones to think, nor in muscles to reason ; and inasmuch as it is the intellectual and reflective faculties which constitute man as a superior order of being, any injury resulting to the former may be regarded as of little importance in comparison with an injury of that organ from which emanates the nervous energy of the whole body as well as all of the manifestations of the mind. But, inasmuch as the brain is a two-fold organ, an organ which executes the double function of administering to both mind and matter, it seems necessary for us to study it in its two-fold character, and ascertain the laws by which it is controlled in each of its operations.

Now we may lay it down, as an established maxim, that unless the brain is in a healthy condition, its emanations must also be of an unhealthy character : those pertaining to the physical system must be deficient in nervous energy, and those relating to the intellectual faculties must be incapable of imparting that vigor, strength, and durability to the mental operations which we all so earnestly covet. We should likewise consider that there are two kinds of exercise requisite to stimulate the different functions of the brain ;—the one for its physical organization, the other for its intellectual developement.

The brain itself, as we have before observed, is a portion of the physical structure of the body, and, as such, is subject to the same laws as govern the rest of our corporeal frame. Exercise, fresh air, an efficient respiration, and proper arterialization of the blood, a suitable diet and perfect digestion, are as essential for its growth and perfection, as for that of any other portion of the body. Another kind of exercise, we have also remarked, is likewise essential for the proper developement of the intellectual faculties ; and this exercise is of a mental character, the stimulus of the mental operations. Now it has become a well established point in Phrenology that mental exercise has the effect, not only of improving the intellectual faculties, but also of enlarging the various portions of the brain itself ; it is, therefore, to a certain extent, highly salutary ; but, if carried beyond its proper limits, injurious consequences must ensue, as we have already shown to be likewise the case with the muscular or osseous portions of our frame when they are unduly exercised. Each mental effort drives to the brain a certain quantity of blood. If this effort be very intense in its character, or if it be long continued, or oft-repeated, the accumulation of blood must produce a partial congestion, or a degree of irritation, which lays the foundation of innumerable diseases in subsequent years, of both a mental and physical character. We may, I am fully aware, produce by such means a wonderful temporary increase of mental power, such as is calculated to excite the fond hopes of

the idolizing parent, and strike with amazement the astonished spectator. They behold in the child a living prodigy; but they consider not that his acquirements are unnatural, and have been obtained in violation of the organic laws which have been instituted for the health and preservation of his body and the formation and developement of his mind. His brain has been stimulated beyond what it was capable of sustaining, and a reaction must sooner or later ensue;—for the laws of nature are immutable and cannot be violated with impunity.

These remarks, it will be remembered, are designed particularly for the early periods of existence, when the organization of the brain is in a delicate and imperfectly developed condition, and when it is consequently incapable of sustaining any great intellectual efforts.

In this sentiment I am supported by some of the ablest writers upon the education of young children. The distinguished Hufeland, physician to the King of Prussia, in his valuable work on the art of prolonging life, observes, “Intellectual effort, in the first years of life, is very injurious. All labor of the mind which is required of children before their seventh year, is in opposition to the laws of nature, and will prove injurious to the organization and prevent its proper developement.”

Tissot, a very able physician, speaks thus: “Long continued application in infancy, destroys life; I have seen young children of great mental activity, who manifested a passion for learning far above their age, and I foresaw, with grief, the fate that awaited them. They commenced their career as prodigies, and finished by becoming persons of very weak minds. The age of infancy is consecrated by nature to those exercises which fortify and strengthen the body, and not to study, which enfeebles and prevents its proper increase and developement.” And again he says, “of ten infants destined for different vocations, I should prefer that the one who is to study through life should be the least learned at the age of twelve.”

Having thus endeavored in a hasty manner to point out some of the injurious effects resulting from early intellectual efforts of a character unsuited to the years of infancy, I will next briefly advert to the course that should be pursued in the education of children in order to avoid the evils referred to.

In the first place, particular pains should be taken with their physical education from the earliest period of their existence. The growth and strength of the body should constitute our first concern; and after this is fully attained, we shall have less cause to apprehend danger from any mental application. Instead, therefore, of sending children to school for the purpose of acquiring a knowledge of the alphabet, or of any abstract or metaphysical science; or to be initiated into the principles of the classification of any of the natural sciences, however simply they may be arranged, or however clearly they may be illustrated; or to acquire a knowledge of any subject requiring any considerable mental application, we should let these be of secondary consideration, and devote our whole attention to the consolidation of that structure upon whose healthy condition depends all their future prospects of happiness to themselves, and of usefulness to their fellow beings. Upon this subject, Dr. Spurzheim, in his essay upon the elementary principles of education, very aptly remarks: “Many parents anxiously strive to cultivate the intellect of their children, and neglect to fortify their constitution. They believe that children cannot too soon learn to read and write, and they therefore oblige them to remain many hours in school, breathing an impure air, while they ought to be developing the organs of the body by exercise. The more delicate the children are, and the more their affections and minds are precocious, the more important is it that

this error should be avoided:—if it is not, premature death is often the consequence of this infraction of the laws of nature. The mind ought never to be cultivated at the expense of the body, and physical education ought to precede that of intellect, and then proceed simultaneously with it, without cultivating one faculty to the neglect of others; for health is the base, and instruction the ornament of education."

Upon this same subject Paulding remarks: "Knowledge should only keep pace with the natural growth of the human faculties. When I see a little urchin, who ought to be enjoying nature's holiday, and strengthening his constitution by wholesome exercise, to enable him to bear the vicissitudes of the world in after times, kidnapped and sent to school to sit on a bench for four or five hours together, employed in learning by rote what he is unable to comprehend, I cannot help contemplating him as the slave and the victim of the vanity of the parent, and of the folly of the teacher. Such a system is only calculated to lay a foundation for disease and decrepitude, to stint the physical and intellectual growth, and to produce a premature old age of body and of mind."

But we may be asked whether we would permit children to grow up in ignorance and habits of idleness until they shall have arrived at a period of life when either physical or mental application would be at least irksome, if not impracticable. I answer, by no means. The great book of nature is always open before them, and from it they can acquire more useful and practical information than from all the schools in the universe as they are generally conducted. Ignorant of what? I would ask. Of a knowledge of letters and of words, which, in nine cases out of ten, convey to their minds no definite ideas. They spend two, three, or four years to acquire by hard toil, and very frequently with a feeling of disgust, what, in more advanced years, may be acquired in six months, without the risk of that distaste for schools and science which effectually prevents many of them for ever from making any considerable progress in their studies. But instead of requiring of them to learn from books, let them acquire knowledge from the works of nature and of art, which are every where thickly spread around them. In this manner their mental faculties can be most profitably cultivated without any particular intellectual effort, while, at the same time, their physical powers will be strengthened, and they will be gradually prepared to endure the future hardships of life. In this manner, (to adopt the language of a French writer,) they will arrive at the seventh year without suspecting that they have been made to learn any thing; they will not have distinguished between study and recreation; all they know they will have learned freely, voluntarily, and always in play;—and the advantages obtained by this course will be good health, grace, agility, gaiety, and happiness; a character frank and generous; a memory properly exercised; a sound judgment and a cultivated mind.

But we have often been asked how we would dispose of the children of that hard-working industrious portion of the community, residing in our cities and thickly populated villages, who have to earn a subsistence for their families away from their own homes, and who can extend no care over their offspring from morning to night—whether we would suffer them to be running wild throughout the whole day, engaged in the various scenes of danger, vice, and crime, with which our cities abound? We would reply, most certainly not.

Places of resort should be provided for such children, where they could be suitably taken care of, with every means requisite for their amusement and recreation, but devoid of the evils attendant upon our schools as usually conducted. Our infant schools may be referred to by some, as answering the

purpose which we have in view. But we regret to say, that after having repeatedly visited them, to witness their exercises and the principles upon which they were conducted, we must entirely disunite with the sentiment, that they are at all calculated to obviate the objections which we have designated. The exercises performed in them, are almost exclusively of an intellectual character, and not at all suited to the capacities of those for whom they are designed. Were I required to give my views respecting the exercises suitable for such an occasion, I am not aware that I could do better than to quote from a former essay upon the same subject, which has already been presented to the public.

In the first place, suitable buildings should be provided, in healthy, airy situations, similar to those recently erected by the controllers of our public schools, for the institutions under their care. Such of the rooms as may be appropriated for the purpose, should be provided with benches adapted to the various sizes of the children, with the seats of a height corresponding to their lower limbs, and with backs of an easy construction. By this means, many diseases of the limbs, chest, and spinal column, would be avoided, which owe their origin to the ill-constructed benches of our schools.

As we design our infant department more particularly as a place of safety, where the physical powers may be duly exercised and developed, rather than for the cultivation of the intellectual faculties, all exercises designed to operate particularly upon the latter should be made entirely subservient to the former. Such physical performances, therefore, as are calculated to develop and strengthen the human frame, and suited to the age, strength, and agility of the children, should receive the first consideration. For this purpose we would have one or more rooms furnished with such gymnastic apparatus as may be considered requisite, and, under the superintendence of suitable teachers, or care-takers, these recreations should frequently alternate with such others as may be directed. A portion of the apparatus should consist of mere instruments of play or amusement; while others should be of a higher order, calculated to bring into active exercise the various muscles of the body. Other apartments should be furnished with every production of nature and art which would be at all suitable for the occasion. The various branches of trade, and the different kingdoms of the earth, should each be made to yield its quota, so that every school-house should be a museum of the most useful and interesting objects which could be collected together from the four quarters of the globe. These we would have constantly presented to the view of the children in the most familiar manner. In the junior department, the children should be made acquainted with their names and their most common qualities and uses, not by any particular intellectual effort, but by the exercise of their external senses upon them. The teacher selected for such a station should have a mind well stored with interesting little anecdotes, connected with the names, the qualities, the properties and the uses of the articles under consideration, and which should be narrated in the most familiar and interesting style, at all times avoiding terms or expressions unsuited to the intelligence of the children. As they advance in years and intellect, they should also advance to the higher departments of the school, where they should be made acquainted with new properties of the same objects, and where new objects should also be presented to their consideration—not in the form of tasks or lessons, but altogether as amusements. From simple articles they should proceed to those more complex in their character, adapted to their increasing power of perception and observation. For instance—let them witness the operation of the manufacture of cotton fabrics, from the change of the raw material in its

growing or pod state, through its various processes, until it is converted into the wearing apparel. And this should be exhibited to them, not in our large manufacturing establishments where no distinct ideas could be obtained respecting it, but on a small scale in their own school-room. Neither would we have them to witness the whole operation in one, two, or even three weeks, but their minds should become familiar with each successive stage, prior to their making a further advancement. So likewise in regard to the animal, vegetable, and mineral kingdoms ;—make them acquainted, first, with the substance themselves ; then, with their different parts, and ultimately with their respective properties and uses, as far as they will admit of familiar illustration. Call their attention to the peculiarities of each, and to their general external characters. But as regards the particular zone of the earth where they are produced, or the particular climate or country whence they are obtained, or the class, order, genera, &c., to which they belong, (which subjects, with many others of like nature, composed a large portion of the exercises which we witnessed at one of our infant schools,) we must express our entire disapproval of any such unintelligible performances. That they are not only unproductive of the least benefit, but, on the contrary, that they have an injurious tendency upon the physical and intellectual developement of those subjected to them, we have not the shadow of a doubt.

In addition to the above, there is also an exercise which has recently been introduced into many of our schools, under the name of calysthenics ; which we consider to be very beneficial in its character upon the physical structure of the human frame, and calls into action the various muscles more effectually than any other method with which we are acquainted. This serves particularly well for children of more advanced years, whose physical and intellectual developements are sufficiently mature to render the usual forms of instruction proper and advantageous. In all such schools, exercise should, at regular intervals, be blended with the studies, and by allowing ten minutes for the purpose at the expiration of each hour, the benefits resulting from it would be fully obvious in the removal or entire avoidance of those feelings of lassitude, headach, listlessness, and other uncomfortable sensations which render the studies irksome, and the mind incapable of applying itself to them with any real advantage. During such intervals of relaxation, the kind of exercise referred to serves as an innocent and healthy recreation ; while, at the same time, it gives grace to motion, and imparts the first principles of systematic instruction in the most pleasing manner in which it can be communicated.

Having thus submitted to your consideration the general outlines of a plan for the physical education of children, which, we have endeavored to show, should receive our first attention, inasmuch as it lays the foundation of a healthy constitution, and of all permanent intellectual acquirements, and having extended our views to the acquisition of that kind of knowledge which is suitable for the expanding intellect of the young and tender infant, we shall close our remarks with a few hints upon the proper mode of instilling into their minds, practical lessons of morality, which will make an impression never to be eradicated, and which will be of far greater utility to them than the perusal of all the discourses which have been delivered upon the subject from the creation of the world to the present time. For, what season, I would ask, is so appropriate for inculcating the principles of love and affection, as when children are mingling together in the sportive recreations of youthful innocence ? What advice is so effectual as that which is delivered on a suitable occasion, at the impulse of the moment ? What opportunity so fit for instilling into their minds the principles of justice

and virtue and benevolence, as when their feelings of regard for each other and each other's rights are excited into active exercise? And what moment so suitable for presenting to their view the baneful effects of improper conduct, whether it consist of unkindness to each other, or of deceit, of falsehood, or of theft, as when some one of their companions has been guilty of one of these offences? Their feelings will become tendered on the occasion, and while they learn to detest the committal of a wrong, they will be taught to pity the individual who thus suffers on account of it.

Besides the above essay, two others, written by females, were read by the Secretary,—one on “Female Decision of Character,” and the other on “Rhetoric.” Answers to questions proposed at a previous meeting were then read as follows:

1. “*What is the cause of Earthquakes?*”—Referred to LYDIA GILLINGHAM.

ANSWER.—As earthquakes are the most formidable ministers of nature, it is not to be wondered at, that a multitude of writers have been industriously engaged in their consideration, and it would be tedious to give all the various opinions that have employed the speculative on this subject. So dreadful have been their appearances, that men's terrors have added new horrors to the scene, and they have regarded as prodigies that which we on a more tranquil investigation shall find are produced by very obvious and natural causes. But in the present state of geological knowledge, it is not to be expected that any theory which can be proposed will account for *every* circumstance connected with this phenomenon of nature.

There are many circumstances which indicate such a connection between Earthquakes and Volcanos, as may warrant the conclusion that they depend upon the same general cause. Both these phenomena are manifestly owing to the agency of subterranean heat; but there is this difference between them, the fury of the Volcano is spent in the eruption, that of the Earthquake spreads wide and acts more fatally by being confined. The Volcano only affrights a province, Earthquakes have laid whole kingdoms in ruin. Volcanic eruptions of lava in a state of igneous fusion, of red hot stones and ashes, and of columns of steam, afford sufficient evidence of the very high temperature that must subsist in the interior of the earth. Many instances might be adduced of the great quantities of lava emitted by some Volcanos, proving the existence of an immense mass of igneous matter under the surface of the earth; when this mass is disturbed, as by the admission of water, an Earthquake is the consequence, and this becomes more or less disastrous according to the degree of internal commotion. If, then, Earthquakes and Volcanos depend on the same causes, the source of these phenomena must be very deeply seated below the earth's surface; for, though Volcanos might be regarded as confined to certain localities, the action of Earthquakes seems to be almost unlimited, since these concussions of the surface have been felt over nearly half the globe. Volcanos, therefore, may be considered as safety-valves by means of which some portions of the substances in fusion, which form the internal mass, escape from time to time, with violence, to flow over the surface of the soil, and the Earthquakes are diminished in force, or cease entirely because the internal pressure is thus relieved. From all which has been adduced on this subject, we cannot but conclude, that the phenomena of Earthquakes and Volcanos indicate the

existence of an ocean of melted lava, constantly existing at an unknown depth under the surface of the earth, and that these phenomena may, in most of their varieties, be accounted for by such an hypothesis, and by no other which has yet been proposed. It is, therefore, reasonable to infer that such a mass of igneous matter does actually exist.

2. *"What is the origin of those Meteoric Stones which have fallen to the earth, at various periods of time since the creation?"*—Referred to MARY R. WETHERALD.

ANSWER.—Most persons are familiar with the history of what has been called Atmospheric or Meteoric Stones; their *origin*, however, is still a mystery.

Various theories have been formed on this subject, as on most others about which there is any uncertainty. Some learned men maintain that they are the smaller fragments of a large celestial body which once existed between Mars and Jupiter, (and from whose larger portions the planets Ceres, Vesta, Juno, and Pallas were formed;) and that when the particles thus detached arrived within the sphere of the earth's attraction, they revolved round that body at different distances, and fell upon its surface in consequence of a diminution of their centrifugal force; or being struck by the electric fluid, they are precipitated on the earth, and exhibit all those phenomena which usually accompany the descent of Meteoric Stones.

According to a French philosopher, igneous mountains were in ancient times endued with mighty force; and it appears not at all improbable to him, that from the said mountains masses of matter were propelled from an immense depth, to such a height as to perform spiral circumgyrations somewhere within the limits of our planetary system, till in the course of ages they came to pop down and take their rest on the surface of mother earth.

Some suppose that they are generated in our own atmosphere by some chemical action; but this is an assumption repugnant to every principle of science.

Others think that they have been thrown from Volcanos in the moon, beyond the reach of its attraction, and within the sphere of the earth's gravity: this also is declared to be a fanciful hypothesis, which is neither suggested by facts, nor founded on analogy; as such Volcanos are not certainly known to exist, and such force of projection has never been exhibited in any Volcanic eruption on our earth.

There are many objections urged against all these theories; and whether Meteoric Stones are the fragments of the "lost pleiad," projected from lunar or earthly Volcanos, or compounded in the regions of air, is a question not likely to be soon, if ever, decided.

A number of scattered facts have, however, been brought together, and generalized, for some future philosopher to work upon, from which he may perhaps deduce a theory that will clear away the mystery which now envelopes their *origin*.

3. *"What is the cause of the fog, which sometimes overspreads London, causing darkness to walk in mid-day, with her train of hair-breadth escapes and fatal accidents—why are its returns periodical, and why is London the radiating point? Do clouds, rain, mist, dew, frost, snow, and hail, proceed from the same cause?"*—Referred to SAMUEL WEBB.

ANSWER.—The atmosphere contains an elastic, transparent, invisible, and intangible fluid, called vapor or steam, which, by reduction of its tempera-

ture, becomes condensed into water—as dew, fog, clouds, rain, mist, and (when frozen) into frost, sleet, snow, and hail; the temperature at which this condensation *commences*, is called the dew point.

Whenever the temperature of the air is the same, or a little below the dew point, the vapor turns to water, and forms what is called *mist* or *cloud*—if it be *much* below, (yet above 32°,) the condensation is more rapid, and *rain* is formed—if below 32°, *snow* is formed.

When the ascending column of air carries the rain into the region of perpetual congelation, that rain is frozen and descends in small pieces of ice, called *hail*.

When the temperature of the *surface of the earth* is a *little* below the temperature of the air, a condensation of the vapor in the air (at the surface) takes place and forms *dew*—should the temperature of the air, at that time, happen to be below 32° of Fahrenheit, the dew is frozen and forms *frost*.

When the temperature of *the ground* is considerably below that of the air, a much more extensive condensation takes place, and thus a *fog* is produced; should the temperature of the air at that time be much below 32°, the fog is frozen, and is then *snow*, and falls to the earth by its specific gravity.

In proportion to the extent of cold surface which comes in contact with the air, so will be the quantity of fog produced; this can never be so great in a *level* country, as in a narrow valley or a *large town*—London, for instance, where the paved streets, the walls, and the roofs of the houses, form a much greater extent of cold surface *in a given space*, than would occur in an open country. In proportion as the town is more closely built up, the greater will be the effect produced. Consequently, as we approach the suburbs, where the buildings are further apart and the openings greater, the fog will proportionably *decrease*; and thus the centre of the town may be the centre of the fog.

But the circumstances above described do not *always* produce a fog—for it may so happen, that at some place not far distant the air is sufficiently heated to create an upward motion, and there ascends in an upward column to a great height; this causes a strong wind to rush towards that upward column, carrying the fog away with it, and thus keeps the atmosphere comparatively clear; hence we seldom see much fog on a windy day.

If the returns of this dense fog *are* periodical, the reason is, that like causes produce like effects; and the same circumstances which cause *one* fog, occurring again will cause *another*. I am not aware that it returns at regular intervals.

The location of London on an island, surrounded by the ocean, the humidity of its atmosphere, its northern latitude, its great extent of paved streets, its numerous and elevated buildings, all have a tendency to cause dense and frequent fogs.

It is probable that the great fogs alluded to, are caused by a sudden rise in the temperature of the air, (owing to a storm passing to the northward of the island.)

The paved streets, the walls, and the roofs of the houses, being much colder than the air, causes the great and sudden condensation of the vapor into fog.

No. III.

WE give below some specimens of Southern exultation over the burning of our Hall, affording the surest evidence that slavery cannot long exist where buildings are open for a free discussion of "its sublime merits." *Some of the writers, according to their own confessions, took part in the mob!* One of our newspaper editors, in commenting on them, says: "Alas!—for the honor of the Keystone State, when she is thus subjected to the eulogy of unhung scoundrels, who exult in her infamy and commend her for her shame. But are Pennsylvania principles to be trampled under foot—the majesty of her laws insulted, and the property of her citizens destroyed by ruffians from other states, and no attempt be made to bring the self acknowledged criminals to justice? What have become of our rights,—of the power of a state to protect her own citizens,—if our laws may thus be practically nullified in the very teeth of their constituted guardians, by profligates from the South, who publicly boast of their successful villainy, and exult in their crimes, as if conscious that Pennsylvania is too weak or too wicked to vindicate her laws, or protect her citizens in the exercise of their constitutional rights?"

The first is from the New Orleans True American, of May 26. The editor of that paper says:

"The news from Philadelphia is of a highly important and interesting character. It will be seen by the subjoined letter from a private correspondent, that the Hall of the abolitionists in that city has been burnt to the ground; and yet, great as the destruction was, so universal was the feeling that dictated it, and so well considered were all the measures taken to effect the purpose, that neither fights, drunkenness, or disorder, stained the act, which the citizens undertook from a heart-felt conviction that their act, though contrary to the spirit of the law, was called for by a firm conviction that the efforts and purposes of the vile abolition faction tended to destroy the Union! to introduce murder, anarchy, and rapine, into the homes of their Southern brethren! and merely to serve the purposes of a few selfish bigots, that our fruitful and happy country would be rendered a scene of carnage and misery, of which the horrid tragedy of St. Domingo, would be an inconsiderable and faint semblance. We will not, however, spoil the interest which our correspondent's letter—himself an eye witness of the scene—must give our readers, from its vivid description and graphic accuracy."

PHILADELPHIA, May 18, 1838.

To the Editor of the New Orleans True American.

Great Excitement in Philadelphia—the Abolition House, called the Pennsylvania Hall, burnt to ashes by a collection of people, four or five thousand in number—Pennsylvania, and Philadelphia in particular, delivered and secure from the machinations of the Fanatics.

A building recently erected by the Abolitionists in this city, and called by them the "Pennsylvania Hall," and which cost forty-three thousand dollars, part contributed by English Fanatics, was formally opened last Monday, the 14th inst., by the abolitionists, preceded by a speech by David Paul Brown, Esq. On Tuesday the 15th, a meeting was held by the Female Anti-Slavery Convention in the said Hall, an account of which I have sent you by the slow mail. At night a lecture was delivered on slavery, before an audience promiscuously mixed up of blacks and whites, sitting

together in amalgamated ease. One pretty woman (white) was seen seated between two black fellows with woolly heads. Men were seen gallanting black women to and from the Hall. Hired black servants, by these marks of especial attention, became insolent and arrogant to their employers; and it was plainly seen, unless these maniacs could be checked in their mad course, much disturbance, and even disgrace and degradation to the whites of better morals, would be the final result. Consequently, on Tuesday night, a mob collected before the Hall, raised a shout, and, with stones and brickbats, stove in the glass of many windows; and it was thought that nothing saved the house from destruction but the presence of the women inside the building attending the meeting. About ten o'clock, P. M., the mob dispersed. On yesterday the 17th, the *State Anti-Slavery Society*, as a few fanatics style themselves, held their anniversary meeting. And it was given out that a white woman who had married a negro, was to give a lecture on abolition, on last evening at seven o'clock. This was too much, and more than the high-spirited Philadelphians could bear. The people by thousands were assembled in front of the Hall at six o'clock, and prevented any abolitionists from entering. The Mayor of the city undertook to disperse them—so did the city watch; but were all soon dispersed themselves. About half past seven, P. M., the people feeling themselves able and willing to do their duty, burst open the doors of the house, entered their abolition book store, and made complete havoc of all within. They then beat out all the windows, and gathering a pile of window blinds, and a pile of abolition books together, they placed them under the pulpit and set fire to them, and the building in general. It was not long before the flames rose and spread with devouring violence and destruction through the Hall—a cry of fire rang along the streets, the State House bell pealed its notes—while the multitude without the building, as soon as they perceived the building on fire, gave a loud shout of joy. A large number of splendid fire engines were immediately on the spot, many of which could throw water more than a hundred feet high: but the *NOBLE FIREMEN, to a man, of all the numerous companies present, refused to throw one drop of water on the consuming building.* All they did was to direct their engines to play upon the private buildings in the immediate vicinity of the blazing Hall, some of which were in great danger, as they were nearly joining the Hall. By the skilful exertion of these *noble-hearted young men*, however, no private property was suffered to receive the least damage,—while the Hall was totally consumed with all its contents. Such conduct in the Philadelphia fire companies deserves the highest praise and gratitude of all the friends of the Union, and of all Southerners in particular; and I hope and trust the fire companies of New Orleans will hold a meeting, and testify in some suitable manner to the Philadelphia fire companies, their sincere approbation of their noble conduct on this occasion. The fire companies of other Southern cities I should like to see do likewise.

I was on the spot when the fire began, till its fine zinc roof, which, by the intensity of the hot fire, was consumed in a blue blaze, and in truth, its floors, all tumbled to the ground together—and during the whole time, not one drop of water did I see fall on the burning mass. The light and flame was so great, that it illuminated the whole city and suburbs.

And here, permit me to say, you may call it a mob if you please; but I can say one thing—I never saw a more orderly, and more generally well informed class of people brought together on any other occasion where the meeting was called a mob. I passed about freely among them where there was room, and found no personal inconvenience. There was no fighting, no violence to private persons, or property. All individual rights were

scrupulously respected—and the only aim seemed to be to destroy the building in question. A Quaker mob could not have been more orderly. The Union and the South is safe in the hands of the good old Keystone State of Pennsylvania.

A SOUTHERNER AND AN EYE WITNESS.

The two following letters are taken from the Augusta (Georgia) Chronicle and Sentinel :

PHILADELPHIA, May 17, 1838.

Dear Sir:—I cannot employ a leisure hour more satisfactorily to myself, than in giving a brief description of abolition, as I have seen it in this city; and I have deemed this communication the more essential, inasmuch as the editors of papers here, who are not totally silent on the subject, do not seem disposed to paint in their true colors the outrages of those *fanatics* and *moral parricides*.

On the South-West corner of Sixth and Cherry streets, has recently been erected and finished a stately edifice, sacred to the cause of *amalgamation*. On its imposing front may be seen, in large golden capitals, occupying nearly the whole width of the building, “PENNSYLVANIA HALL!” In its most southern apartment on Sixth street, is the abolition book store; there, hung around the walls and strewed about the counters, may be seen caricatures which I forbear to describe, but which the boldest mind cannot excel in its fiercest imaginings of cruelty, inhumanity and punishment.

By public advertisement, a meeting of three days and nights duration, commenced on Tuesday last, in this *tabernacle of mischief and fanaticism*. Yesterday, in the broad light of day, I saw many pairs and trios of different hues, from “jetty black to snowy white,” arm in arm, emerge from its spacious halls. There, sir, was the descendant of Ham or of Africa, linked, side by side, with some of the fairest and wealthiest daughters of Philadelphia, conversing as they went, no doubt strengthening each other in *the faith*, by their warm expressions of mutual assurance and hope that the period would soon arrive when they might become sisters-in-law—that soon would their fearless and eloquent leader (Buffoon,) succeed in convincing the world that men and women should regard no more the paltry difference of *texture* of skin or *quality* of hair, than should the beasts of the field; that the *white* lady should no more object to the society of a *black* companion, than the *white* dog should object to kenneling with the *black* one.

And, sir, the people of Philadelphia suffer this in their goodly city of brotherly love! ’Tis true, they profess to be *offended* at these things. But then, they do not think the peace of the city should be disturbed in its repose, or violated in its regularity. They think that the temple of these *audacious meddlers* may still rear its gorgon crest *before the eye of the Southron*,—that those from whose hands they receive their daily bread, and whose substance clothes their merchant cities in beauty and affluence, may still bear their insults, as they have borne them.

Little do they reflect, in their lethargic indifference to the conduct of these *mad zealots*, how soon the flourishing bloom of their cities must fade and decay, when they shall no longer enjoy the aid and support of the productive South. [!!]

Your obedient servant,

A.

—

PHILADELPHIA, May 17, 12 o’clock, p. m.

MR. JONES:—I wrote you this morning a description of abolition in this city, in which, in effect, I censured the people of this city. I hasten to make the *amende* honourable.

About 7 o'clock this evening, Mr. Swift, the Mayor, visited the Pennsylvania Hall, and advised the abolitionists to absent themselves, and to remain quietly at home. I am informed that he took the keys of the Hall and put them in his pocket. Mr. H. M'L. the only Southern man with whom I was acquainted, and myself, went to the Hall about half past 7. Great numbers were collected there. About 8 o'clock the crowd grew more dense, and they commenced operations by throwing stones at the windows. *We lent our feeble efforts to effect the demolition of this castle of iniquity.* The mob grew more and more violent. They battered in the doors, and they entered, by force of battering rams, the abolition sanctuary, (the book store,) and cast many hundred volumes into the street; the remainder were taken to the third story of the edifice, and set on fire; and an individual unknown, but who ought to have a place in the history of his country, heaped up the remainder of the books and caricatures, and watching over them until the building was thoroughly on fire, left it in an irresistible state of conflagration. *A health to him at this midnight hour—many a man has been immortalized for less.*

The fire companies repaired tardily to the scene of action, and not a drop of water did they pour upon *that accursed Moloch*, until it was a heap of ruins. *Sir, it would have gladdened your heart to have beheld that lofty tower of mischief enveloped in flames.* The devouring element assumed an aspect which to me it had never worn before; it seemed to wear, combined with its terrible majesty, *beauty and delight.* To witness those beautiful spires of flame, gave undoubted assurance to the heart of the Southron, that in his brethren of the North *he has friends who appreciate him*, and who will defend him, though absent, at any, and at every hazard.

Your obedient servant,

A.

The following is from the Missouri Saturday News, published in St. Louis. It exhibits the ruffian spirit which slavery engenders.

“ PENNSYLVANIA HALL.—The destruction of this *Temple of Amalgamation*, in the city of brotherly love, should not be regretted by any American citizen, who entertains just pretensions to patriotism. The manner of this transaction is no more to be regretted than the fact itself. When an association of persons, with whatever avowed purpose they may gloss over their mischiefs, unite their efforts in outrage on the morals and the political institutions of the country, the summary punishment inflicted by the indignant populace of a city, is the most effectual chastening which human wisdom can devise. A more direct and unqualified case of insolence and effrontery, could not have been contrived, than the parade of black and white amalgamation in the fashionable promenades of the city. A single shameless instance of a white woman hanging to the arm of a negro, was sufficiently insulting to a people of good taste, to justify the demolition of the unholy temple of the abolition lecturers. It is in vain to suggest that laws can provide a remedy for such *rank* offences. To impose effectual legal restraints, would impair personal freedom, and the liberty of the press, a sacrifice which the abolitionist has no claim to. His purposes are wicked; his transactions have a lawless and unconstitutional tendency, and, in his movements towards the dissolution of the Union, he puts himself out of the protection of the laws. He outlaws himself, and no act for his protection can be enforced by the most energetic ministers of the law. As well might a rabid dog claim a trial by his peers, as an abolitionist who piles up the combustible materials of a servile war, and teaches in his lectures the che-

mical process of igniting the mass. There is no veil which sophistry can impose, so impervious as to hide the hypocrisy beneath it. Christianity revolts at the proposed connexion of fiends with the devout teachers of the various religious sects.

We rejoice to see the battle fought in that part of the Union where the traitors originate their deep laid schemes; and it is cheering to observe the just view the people of the free states take of a subject which has so long agitated the country. The South may rest their case in the hands of their spirited brethren of the North, who will guarantee their constitutional rights, and without waiting the tardy and futile provisions of law. It is fashionable for conductors of the press to lament violations of the law, and transactions like that to which we refer, are pronounced seditious and immoral; but we would as soon denounce the sages of our revolution as 'rebels,' as cast a shade of censure on the actors in the late Philadelphia affair. The skilful physician, in desperate cases, applies the mineral poison; but, like the surgeon, he sets bounds to his ministry; so did the populace and the firemen. The offensive matter was consumed, but the flames expired within the temple of abolition. The abolition lecturers and the proprietors of this unholy temple, may think themselves fortunate that their ashes have not been mingled with the rubbish of their edifice. We speak with the boldness and energy which we are sensible is not usual; but in extreme emergencies the conductors of the press are culpable when they adopt a milk and water course; and it will be found too late to pour out lachrymose sentiments over the remains of their countrymen who are doomed by the treason of abolition."

No. IV.

It has been remarked that "the poetry of the world is all against slavery." We believe it; for we cannot conceive that any person who has heart enough to write good poetry, can look unmoved upon the channelling of God's image, with all its horrid consequences. The two following effusions are worthy of preservation. The first is by JOHN PIERPONT, Pastor of a Unitarian church in Boston, (Massachusetts,) with whose genius both Europe and America are familiar.

THE TOCSIN.

Wake ! children of the *men* who said,
 "All are born free"!—Their spirits come
 Back to the places where they bled
 In Freedom's holy martyrdom,
 And find *you* sleeping on their graves,
 And hugging there your chains,—ye slaves !

Ay, slaves of slaves ! What ! sleep ye yet,
 And dream of Freedom while ye sleep ?
 Ay, dream, while Slavery's foot is set
 So firmly on your necks,—while deep
 The chain her quivering flesh endures,
 Gnaws, like a cancer, into yours !

Hah ! say ye that I've falsely spoken,
 Calling ye slaves ?—Then prove ye're *not* :
 Work a free press !—ye'll see it broken :
 Stand to defend it !—ye'll be shot :
 Oh, yes !—but people should not dare
 Print what the “brotherhood” won't bear !

Then from your *lips* let words of grace,
 Glean'd from the Holy Bible's pages,
 Fall, while ye're pleading for a race .
 Whose blood has flow'd through chains for ages ;
 And pray—“Lord, let thy kingdom come !”
 And *see* if ye're not stricken dumb :

Yes, men of God ! *ye* may not speak
 As, by the Word of God, ye're bidden ;—
 By the press'd lip,—the blanching cheek,
 Ye feel yourselves rebuked and chidden ;
 And if ye're not cast out, ye fear it :—
 And why ?—“The brethren” will not bear it.

Since, then, through pulpit, or through press,
 To prove your Freedom ye're not able,
 Go,—like the Sun of Righteousness,
 By wise men honor'd,—to a stable !
 Bend *there* to Liberty your knee !
 Say *there* that God made all men free !

Even there,—ere Freedom's vows ye've plighted,
 Ere of her form ye've caught a glimpse,
 Even there, are fires infernal lighted,
 And ye're driven out by Slavery's imps.
 Ah, well !—“so persecuted they
 The prophets” of a former day !

Go, then, and build yourselves a hall,
 To prove ye are not slaves, but men !
 Write “FREEDOM” on its towering wall !
 Baptize it in the name of PENN ;
 And give it to her holy cause,
 Beneath the *Ægis* of her laws :

Within, let Freedom's anthem swell ;—
 And, while your hearts begin to throb,
 And burn within you——Hark ! the yell—
 The torch—the torrent of the *Mob* !—
 They're Slavery's troops that round you sweep,
 And leave your Hall a smouldering heap !

At Slavery's beck, the prayers ye urge
 On your own servants, through the door
 Of your own senate, that the scourge ~
 May gash your brother's back no more,
 Are trampled underneath their feet,
 While ye stand praying in the street !

At Slavery's beck, ye send your sons
 To hunt down Indian wives or maids,
 Doom'd to the lash !—Yes, and their bones,
 Whitening 'mid swamps and everglades,
 Where no friend goes to give them graves,
Prove that ye are not Slavery's slaves !!

At Slavery's beck, the very hands
 Ye lift to Heaven, to swear ye're free,
 Will break a truce, to seize the lands
 Of Seminole or Cherokee !
 Yes—tear a flag, that Tartar hordes
 Respect, and shield it with their swords !

Vengeance is Thine, Almighty God !
 To pay it hath Thy justice bound Thee :—
 Even now, I see Thee take Thy rod :—
 Thy thunders, leash'd and growling round Thee—
 Slip them not yet, in mercy !—Deign
 Thy wrath yet longer to restrain !—

Or—let *thy* kingdom, Slavery, come !
 Let Church, let State, receive thy chain !
 Let pulpit, press, and hall be dumb,
 If so “the brotherhood” ordain !
 The muse her own indignant spirit
 Shall still speak out, and men shall hear it.

Yes :—while at Concord there 's a stone
 That she can strike her firè from still ;
 While there's a shaft at Lexington,
 Or half a one on Bunker's Hill,
 There shall she stand and strike her lyre,
 And Truth and Freedom shall stand by her.

But should she *thence* by mobs be driven,
 For purer heights she'll plume her wing :—
 Spurning a land of slaves, to heaven
 She'll soar,—where she can safely sing.
 God of our fathers, speed her thither !
 God of the free, let me go with her !

The following appeared in the “Pennsylvania Freeman,” of this city, over the signature “N.” The name of the author is not known.

THE PENNSYLVANIA HALL.

That noble Hall threw up its light
 To meet the answering sky,
 While startled men with shuddering sight
 Saw threat'ning ruin nigh :

Oh ! Slavery's form that hour was seen
 Polluting all our air,
 Its fearful front and fiendish mien
 And twining chains were bare,
 And well that Hall, in Freedom's name,
 Hath spoken out with words of flame !

Is then the hallow'd home of Penn
 A place no longer free ?
 Have Rush and Franklin lived in vain,
 O recreant land, for thee ?
 Can Freedom's cry, flung wildly out
 From sunny vale and hill,
 Wake in thy sons no answering shout
 Of proud devotion still ?
 Shall the stern voices of her slain
 Thrill from thy olden graves in vain ?

No ! from thy ruin, glorious Hall !
 Shall rise a battle cry,—
 Unsinged, “ upon the outer wall,”
 Our lofty banners fly :
 Our conquering arms are truth and light,
 Encircling love our shield,
 And firmly for ETERNAL RIGHT
 We will maintain the field :—
 Wo unto us if now we falter,
 When Freedom bleeds on her own altar ?

Though o'er us now the raging storm,
 And rushing waters round,
 Though fierce the lightning's lurid form
 And dread the thunder's sound,
 Oh, brightly yet the promise-sign
 Shall span the arching dome,
 And singing birds, and glad sunshine,
 And balmy breezes come—
 When 'franchised slaves their songs shall raise,
 And yon blue welkin ring with praise !

NO. V.

Soon after the Hall was destroyed, the reflecting, orderly and virtuous portion of the community began to express their disapprobation of the conduct of the Mayor. To allay this discontent, the Mayor published the following card in the daily papers:

A CARD.—TO THE PUBLIC.

“FELLOW CITIZENS:—*For the purpose of putting an end to inquiry as to the causes which led to the late much to be regretted violation of the public peace, and my conduct on the occasion, I have only to say that the Councils of the city have appointed a committee to investigate both, and that I shall cheerfully abide by the decision, be it what it may.*

Your most obedient servant,

JOHN SWIFT, Mayor.

May 25th, 1838.”

The publication of this card in the Pennsylvania Inquirer of May 28th, was the first intimation we had that the Councils purposed any investigation of the Mayor’s conduct. By the extract from the Journal, published with the Police Committee’s Report, it will be seen that the resolution requesting that committee to investigate the subject, was adopted not till three days after the publication and six after the date of the above card. Hence it seems that the Mayor or his friends decided on an investigation before the councils did so; and from the committee’s subsequent conduct it would seem, not only that the action of Councils was anticipated, but that the case was prejudged, and the inquiry instituted merely to exculpate the Mayor, and the Police Committee themselves, from deserved censure for not having preserved the peace of the city. No wonder the Mayor was so willing to abide by the decision of a committee, a majority of whom were his personal friends—the chairman especially so—and who, moreover, were themselves implicated, inasmuch as the Mayor and city police are under their immediate control and direction. The following is the Report:

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON POLICE,

On the circumstances attending and connected with the destruction of the Pennsylvania Hall, and other consequent disturbances of the peace: Mr. Warner, Chairman. Read in Councils, July 5th, 1838. Philadelphia: printed by L. R. Bailey, 26 North Fifth Street.

COMMON COUNCIL CHAMBER, May 31st, 1838.

I do hereby certify, that the following Preamble and Resolutions were this evening passed by the Select and Common Councils of the City of Philadelphia; viz.

“Whereas, there is great excitement in the public mind in reference to the late disturbances resulting in the burning of the Pennsylvania Hall and other breaches of the peace: And whereas, it would be prejudicial to the reputation of the City and the Corporation to let these events pass unnoticed, thereby giving a tacit assent to these infractions of law and good order: Therefore,

“Resolved, That the Committee on Police, be requested to investigate and report to Councils the circumstances attending and connected with the destruction of the Pennsylvania Hall, and other consequent disturbances of the peace.”

Extract from the Journal.

Attest LEVI HOLLINGSWORTH, Clerk of Common Council.

The Committee on Police, in compliance with the duty assigned to them by the foregoing Resolution, *REPORT*,*

That they met *on the 4th of June*; and, after some inquiry into the extent of the duties assigned to them, believing that the information required of them could be best obtained on application to the Managers of the Pennsylvania Hall, they addressed a letter to the President of that Board, (see Appendix A,) enclosing a copy of the Resolution of Councils, and informing him that the Committee would meet *on the 6th inst.*, and that any communication from that Board might be made to the Chairman of the Committee.†

At their adjourned meeting, on the 6th, a letter (see Appendix B,) was received from Daniel Neall, Esquire, President of the Board of Managers of the Pennsylvania Hall, in which he states:

"In answer to your unexpected and unsolicited invitation, I am instructed by the Managers to say, we are in possession of much information in relation to the matter alluded to, which we would be willing to communicate *if it be the request of Councils* or of the respectable Committee of which thou art Chairman."

He adds, that the preparation of the communication would require time; that they believe the information should be laid before the public; and concludes, "we are preparing a statement, containing, as far as practicable, all that was said or done in our Hall during the brief period of its existence, and also all the circumstances attending its destruction, in order that our fellow citizens may see that we did not deserve the treatment we received from the mob; and that we *did* deserve that protection from the city authorities which we did *not* receive."

The Committee had not, *till then*, received any intimation, either from the action of Councils on the subject, or from any responsible source,‡ that a belief was seriously entertained by any person, prepared and willing to substantiate the charge, that the city authorities had withheld from any citizens, the protection which, if they had it in their power to give, it was their bounden duty to afford to all. When, therefore, in reply to an official *application for information* as to the causes of the disturbances, they received from responsible persons, professing to be possessed of much information in relation to the matter, an assertion so distinctly conveying a charge of a refusal on the part of the city authorities to afford protection to those who deserved it, the Committee deemed it a duty which they owed to those who had made the charge—to those whose character was impeached in it—to the Councils by whom this Committee was appointed—and to the *public at large, whose representatives the Councils are*, in the management of their municipal affairs, that so grievous an imputation should not be permitted to sleep upon their minutes unnoticed, but that the responsible *promulgators* of it should be at once invited to *define and specify the charge* in such manner as to enable this Committee to *report the same at once to Councils* for their action.

Accordingly a Resolution was adopted, that the Committee would adjourn to meet again on the 8th of June, "and that the Managers of the Pennsylvania Hall be notified, that they may attend in person, or by attorney, to make such *charges or allegations as they may think proper.*" And the

* It is proper to state that the *italicising* is our own.

† This was received by the Managers, on the 5th. It was vague and indefinite, leaving it doubtful whether the committee desired us to furnish information, or merely wished to array us as accusers of the Mayor.

‡ See the Mayor's card!

Chairman was requested to transmit to them a copy of the Resolution, which he did, by a note, dated the 7th of June.* (See Appendix C.)

In the absence of Mr. Neall, the President, a reply was written by Mr. Samuel Webb,† (the Treasurer of the Pennsylvania Hall,) dated the 7th inst., (see Appendix D,) which was read at the meeting of the Committee on the 8th.

In that letter they again state, that the time is "too short to prepare a statement of the injuries" they received. He adds—

"From the resolution of Councils it appeared to us as though they were anxious to obtain information in relation to the wanton destruction of our property; and we felt willing to aid in any impartial investigation which they might wish to make; but from thy last letter it would seem as though it was desired we should assume the attitude of *accusers*, which is a character the Managers have no desire to appear in."

"If the Mayor has not done his duty, it does not lay with us to impeach him."

This was the *first personal allusion to the conduct of the Mayor* in this investigation.

The Committee felt the *delicacy*‡ of the task which devolved upon them.

In the discharge of the duty assigned to them, they had asked for information§ from those persons whom they believed to be possessed of it. In reply they had received an accusation against the city authorities of neglect of duty. When they *called for charges*, those who *had made the accusation* answered, that "the attitude of accusers is a character the Managers

* Allowing about twenty-four hours for the Managers of the Hall to assemble and draw up a statement, &c.

† This letter was directed to Daniel Neall, or *Samuel Webb*, but as the committee omitted to mention that circumstance, we will refresh their recollection by inserting the whole letter, *verbatim et literatim* :

PHIADELPHIA June 7th 1838

Dear Sir—Your Letter of the 5th inst in reply to mine of the 4th inst was received yesterdays Morning the 6th inst— and was laid before the committee last Evning. by whom I am instructed to communicate the following Resolution

Resolved that when this committee adjourns we adjourn to meet in the Chamber of the Select Council at 8,, O Clock an Friday Evning Next 8th inst and that the Managers of the Pennsylvania Hall be notified that thee may attend in Person or by Attorney to Make such charges or allegations as they may think proper.

I hav the Honer to be yours &c

JOHN S. WARNER

Chairmn Comutte on Police

DANILE NEALL Esqr.

(Endorsed)—Danil Neall Esqr President Board Managers Pen Hall
or Samul Webb Esqr No 305 Mulberys Ster

For a translation of the foregoing letter, see Appendix, letter C.

‡ The Committee should have said "*indelicacy* of the task," to be at once the accused and the accuser, the counsel, the witnesses, the judge, the jury, and the executioner! It may, however, be considered a "delicate" task for men to sit in judgment on themselves and their officers and agents; for

" When self the tottering balance holds,
It's rarely right adjusted."

§ It does not appear that they wanted *information* but *informers*—some "responsible promulgators," to make "charges or allegations." The only thing like asking for information that we have seen, is the resolution contained in William H. Keating's letter to us, dated June 8th, in which letter he says, he was instructed by the Committee to invite our attendance and that of any *witnesses* we might deem it desirable to adduce, and that we might be *attended by our Counsel* if we thought proper.

The learned Counsellor who wrote that letter knows very well that this is unusual language to address to a *witness*—that *parties*, not *witnesses*, are notified to adduce their *witnesses*, and are permitted to have the aid of counsel.

have no desire to appear in ;" but, in a manner which brought the insinuation more directly home, they add that, " if the Mayor has not done his duty, it does not lay with them to impeach him."

The Committee were unwilling, without special instructions from Councils, to institute themselves into a committee of *inquiry* into the *conduct of the Mayor*,* or of any other *officer*; the duty assigned to them was merely " to investigate and report to Councils the circumstances attending and connected with " the disturbances of the peace.

They therefore again applied to the Managers of the Hall ; not for a communication in writing, which the Managers had alleged would take a few days to prepare ; but they invited them to attend at an adjourned meeting, to be held on the 12th, to give to the Committee such evidence as they may themselves possess, or as may be obtained by them from others, to enable the Committee to discharge the duty enjoined upon them by Councils.

It was the personal attendance of the Managers and of their friends which was requested, so as to obtain from them, verbally, that information which the Committee were required to procure. The Committee did not invite them to come forward as accusers,† but as witnesses—and, lest these gentlemen should be deterred from appearing by the apprehension that *questions of an embarrassing character would be asked*, they were informed, that if they thought proper to be attended by their counsel, the Committee desired that he might also be invited to appear.

And as it became evident that the information of which those gentlemen were possessed, was, in their opinion, calculated to implicate the character of the city authorities, it was deemed an act of justice to invite the personal attendance of the Mayor on the occasion. It was *not as one accused* that he was invited ; but as one who, from his official station, was probably possessed of much information in relation to the recent disturbances, and who, as the Chief Magistrate of the city, was most deeply interested in any investigation connected " with disturbances of the peace," and best able to vindicate the *character of the city authorities*, if it was *unjustly assailed*. He was also informed, that if he chose to be attended by *his counsel* he was at liberty to extend the invitation to him.—(Copies of the Resolutions and letters addressed to the Managers and to the Mayor are annexed—see Appendix E and F.)

On the 12th the Committee again met, and after they had proceeded somewhat in their business, they received a letter from Mr. Neall, dated the 12th. (See Appendix G.) From this letter it seemed that the Managers declined making any communication, written or verbal, to the Committee ; they say, they " doubt whether the period has yet arrived when the history of the short existence, and destruction of the Pennsylvania Hall, would be dispassionately read and coolly decided upon. Of the time and manner of making such publication, we request to be permitted to judge hereafter, according to existing circumstances." In a subsequent part of that letter, the Managers seem to have assumed that the object of the Committee was to call for information in relation to an investigation into the conduct of the Mayor of the city ;‡ although the Committee had *carefully avoided alluding to this subject*, both in their resolutions and correspondence, as they did not deem it within their province to institute such an investigation.

The Managers renew their disclaimers of any wish to become informers and prosecutors, and they repeat some of the views expressed in their former letters.

* See the Mayor's Card, page 175.

† See the letter of their " Chermn," dated June 7th.

‡ Had we not a right to assume this from the Mayor's own published card ?

The Committee, finding that the Managers were not willing to communicate at this time the information in their possession, made no further application to them.

The Mayor attended in compliance with the invitation that had been sent to him; and when asked by the Chairman of the Committee, whether he had any communication to make, *he declined making any*; stating that he had attended on account of the invitation; that *if any charges were made against him, he was prepared to meet them, and to defend himself against all charges or insinuations*; but that he claimed the privilege of all *accused persons*, that specific charges should be made, and the prosecutors' names revealed.

The Committee informed him that they *had not* been appointed to investigate his conduct; that *no distinct charges had been made against him*; that *no one had chosen to assume the attitude of a prosecutor*; but that they would cheerfully receive any information he had it in his power to give them, which would facilitate the investigation imposed upon them by Councils.

Mr. Swift, then, not as Mayor of the city, but as a citizen who had witnessed some of the circumstances attending those disturbances, communicated to the Committee, verbally and unofficially, such circumstances as had come under his notice; he also placed in their possession certain letters which are hereto annexed, (marked H, I, K, L, and M.)

This communication, together with the publications made by the Managers of the Pennsylvania Hall Association in the newspapers, as well as the information derived by the members of the Committee from other sources, has enabled them to prepare the annexed brief statement in relation to the recent breaches of the peace.

The Committee have endeavored as far as possible to avoid the introduction of any controverted facts. They are aware that a statement prepared as theirs is, without the advantage of an examination of witnesses upon oath, must necessarily be imperfect. The Mayor, it is true, expressed his willingness to be sworn to the truth of the facts stated by him; but the Committee declined hearing him upon oath.

Aware that they were invested with no judicial character; that they had no authority to require, and to compel the attendance of witnesses; that they could not rightfully administer an oath or affirmation; that none administered before them by a magistrate, extra-judicially, would have any legal sanction; and that no deviation of the truth, however gross or wilful, on the part of a witness so sworn, would make him liable to the pains and penalties of perjury, the Committee thought it better not to attempt even the form of a judicial investigation; and, as they could not hear other witnesses upon oath or affirmation, they declined the Mayor's offer; not doubting that any statement made by him without an oath, would be the same as if sworn to.

The Committee deem it unavoidable to dwell for a moment upon the *causes** which produced among *a certain portion* of our community that deep excitement, which, breaking through every bound, and setting at nought the dictates of law, reason, or right, *doomed† to destruction* a large and costly edifice, but recently erected in our city, and dedicated to "liberty, and the right of free discussion" upon all subjects. It would ill become this Committee to utter a single word in palliation of the deep stain which the character of our city has received from this violent outrage upon

*They were appointed to investigate, not the *causes*, but the *circumstances* attending and connected with the destruction of the Pennsylvania Hall, and *other consequent disturbances* of the peace.

†  DOOMED to destruction.

private rights and private property. But, however deeply the Committee may depurate and censure the existence of that feeling; however impossible it may be for them in any manner to justify or excuse it; they owe it to the cause of truth, to declare that this excitement, (heretofore unparalleled in our city,) *was occasioned** by the determination of *the owners* of that building and of their friends, to persevere in openly promulgating and advocating in it *doctrines repulsive to the moral sense* of a large majority of our community; and to persist in this course against the advice of friends, heedless of the dangers which they were encountering, or *reckless of its consequences to the peace and order of our city.†* Of their strict legal and constitutional right to do so, there can be no question. Our Constitution declares that "the free communication of thoughts and opinions is one of the invaluable rights of man, and every citizen may freely speak, write, and print on any subject, being responsible for the abuse of that liberty;" and again, "the citizens have a right, in a peaceable manner, to assemble together for their common good," and "to apply to those invested with the powers of government for redress of grievances, or other proper purposes, by petition, address, or remonstrance." Neither can there be any doubt of the duty of the city authorities, so far as it is in their power to do it, to extend protection to all, and to secure, as far as possible, the rights and the property of all citizens against invasion from any quarter. But how far it was prudent or judicious, or even morally right—how far it became peaceful and good citizens to persevere in measures generally admitted to have a tendency to endanger the public peace—how far they could anticipate any result different from that which has occurred—are questions upon which public opinion is to a certain extent divided. However much it may be a subject of regret to this Committee, it can be no matter of surprise to *them*, that the mass of the community, without distinction of political or religious opinions, could *ill brook the erection* of an edifice in this city, for the *encouragement of practices believed* by many to be *subversive of the established orders of society*, and even viewed by some as repugnant to that separation and distinction which it has pleased the great Author of nature to establish among

* The editor of the Pennsylvania Freeman, in remarking on this part of the "Report," says: "We cannot lightly pass over the studied, systematic attempt to throw the entire blame of the atrocious outrage, at least so far as its exciting cause is concerned, upon the alleged imprudence of the abolitionists. It is a mean and base and most wicked endeavor to screen from censure men who have culpably neglected their sworn duty. In their endeavor to defend the conduct of the Mayor, the Committee found themselves under the necessity of palliating and excusing the atrocities of the mob, and they have done so openly, and with the cool audacity of a Catherine Medicis, charging the criminality of the massacre of St. Bartholomew's upon the hunted and outraged Huguenot."

† "Repulsive to the moral sense" of the community! And did that repulsion manifest itself in mob-law, robbery, and arson? Did the "moral sense" of the community dictate the *modus operandi* of the removal of the "repulsive" object? Did it nerve the arms which dashed open the doors, and hurled the brickbats? Did it kindle the torch of the incendiary? Were the obscenity and blasphemy—the hoarse threats of murder, and the gross insults offered to unprotected females—the manifold atrocities which disturbed and disgraced our city—nothing more, after all, than demonstrations of the "moral sense of the community," struggling to put down the "repulsive doctrines" of the abolitionists?"

‡ Here is a grave charge, a libel upon the owners of the building, and on their friends. We unequivocally and indignantly deny the charge. Would it not have been proper for that Committee to "define and specify" what those doctrines were, to which they allude? And having this Committee as "responsible promulgators" of the scandal, we trust the public will justify us in holding them "responsible" for this assertion, which is as untrue in point of fact, as it was illiberal and unjust in a Committee of Councils to undertake to act as self-appointed accusers and Judges.

the various races of man. Had the founders of the building, however, been satisfied with a *less public* dedication of their Hall, it is probable that the general good sense of our community, and the all-pervading influence of the law, would have availed to secure the building against the attack of its lawless aggressors. Extending, as they did, private invitations, as well as a call in the *public papers, most widely*; not confining themselves to the city, or even to this commonwealth, but inviting from distant states men whose names have been but too conspicuous before the community as active agitators; and embracing in their invitations all persons, *without distinction of color*,* *they* unfortunately produced in the public mind a high state of excitement,† as *prejudicial to the peace of the city*, as it *may* have been *unexpected by them*. Perhaps, even, if the active participators in this celebration had been confined to residents of our own city, well known, and endeared to many by private worth and respectable character, the feelings of those opposed to them in opinion, might have been repressed by the general regard of the community; but when it was found that our city had been selected as the rallying point of men known among us only as restless agitators and *disturbers of the peace* elsewhere; and when on the arrival of these strangers in Philadelphia, and during their sojourn here, our streets presented, for the first time since the days of William Penn, the unusual union of black and white walking arm in arm in social intercourse, *it is a matter of no great surprise*, however it should be of deep reprobation, that any individuals should have so far forgotten what was due to the character of the city, and to the supremacy of the law, as publicly to give vent to that indignation *which ought never to have been felt*; or if felt, should have been suppressed within their bosoms.‡

* To prove the accuracy of the investigations of this veritable Committee, we insert the following copy of our circular invitation to individuals:

“A. B. is invited to attend the opening of the Pennsylvania Hall, on the 14th, 15th, and 16th of the Fifth month (May) next, to commence on the morning of the 14th, at — o'clock.

By request of the Board of Managers.

JOSEPH M. TRUMAN,
WILLIAM H. SCOTT,
WILLIAM MCKEE,
SAMUEL WEBB,
} Committee.”

Philadelphia, Fourth month 14th, 1838.

We also insert a copy of an invitation published in the United States Gazette, May 10, 1838 :

“THE PENNSYLVANIA HALL

Will be opened for public use on the 14th, 15th, and 16th of the present month. The public generally, *without distinction as to sect or party*, are respectfully invited to attend. Several able addresses may be expected.

Signed by direction of the Board of Managers.

JOSEPH M. TRUMAN,
WILLIAM H. SCOTT,
WILLIAM MCKEE,
SAMUEL WEBB,
} Committee.

Editors who are in favor of *Liberty of Speech*, as well as liberty of the press, are requested to copy the above. Any of them who may wish to send Reporters to the Hall, shall have them suitably accommodated by making early application to the Committee.”

† The “prejudicial excitement” here alluded to, was probably produced from the placard, and the well known fact that the Mayor would not take any efficient means to disperse the mob, and that the building, to use the language of the Police Committee, was “*doomed to destruction*.”

‡ That those who were not present may know what value to place upon the exaggerated reports of the enemies of Emancipation, we will mention one or two facts. A young colored man, wealthy, and educated, the owner of a farm in one of the adjoining counties, came to the Hall with his wife, (who is darker than himself,) in his carriage, as his wife was lame. The rumor was in consequence industriously circulated, that a *white man* had brought a colored girl with him in his carriage to the Hall. The wife and sister-in-law of a highly respectable colored citizen, well known in Chestnut street, and the son of a Governor of one of the Southern states, were seen walking with their own cousin, who happened to be darker than themselves, and the mob raised

The Pennsylvania Hall was opened on Monday the 14th of May, and it appears that the only application made to the police for assistance at the opening, consisted in privately engaging the services of two of the silent watch, Messrs. Samuel Barry and Gershom Craft, who were at once permitted to go to the Hall, with the assurance to the Managers, *that the whole police force of the city would be lent to them if required.* The Mayor had summoned the whole of his force to be at the State House, on the afternoon of that day; but the Managers having requested that these two police officers should be excused, (see Appendix H,) the Mayor readily assented to it. Their letter of the 14th has appeared to this Committee important, inasmuch as it requested "permission for these two men to remain at the Hall, to keep the boys from making a noise by running in and out of the Hall during the exercises." This seems to have been the *only annoyance* then apprehended by the Managers, and it appears that they considered these two men as affording them sufficient protection against it.* These men are represented to the Committee as faithful and vigilant in the discharge of their duties. They had probably been selected by the Managers from their well known friendly feeling to the cause of abolition. They remained constantly at the Hall; and neither they nor the Managers, nor any other person, intimated to any of the city authorities for three days, that there was any cause of alarm at the Hall. It was only late† in the evening of the 16th, (Wed-

the shout that a black man was walking with two "pretty white girls." A white person seized a sweep by the arm, and forced him to walk arm in arm, in front of the Hall. Other similar cases might be mentioned.

The editor of one of our city papers, in remarking on this portion of the "Report," says: "It will thus be seen that the Committee of the Councils of Philadelphia, have gone down into the kennels of society—and raked the darkest and vilest purlieus of licentiousness and pollution, for insinuations and slanderous reports against the friends of Emancipation. Shame on the men who could embody these vile and wicked slanders—this low and vulgar slang of the enemies of order and morality—the watchwords and countersigns of the mob—in a grave report of the Councils of our city. What had they to do with these irresponsible, indefinite slanders, floating on the breath of the mob! Unsupported by a shadow of proof, why are they thrust upon the public, under the sanction and authority of a report of this character? What other object can their repetition in this document subserve, than that of **EXCUSING THE MOB FOR THEIR PAST CONDUCT AND INVITING SIMILAR OUTRAGES FOR THE FUTURE?** What is it but throwing the rein freely upon the neck of the disorderly—'erying havoc, and letting slip the dogs of war?'

"Did not these men know that the felons and robbers engaged in the riot at Pennsylvania Hall, would regard the 'Report' as a triumphant justification of their outrage—that it would win applause in the dens of midnight debauchery—at the table of the gamester—and around the filthy receptacles of liquid poison? They have left it for the mob to decide when and how the 'moral sense of the community' is outraged; and where and how they are to appear as the conservators of 'the established orders of society.' It is 'the winking of authority' at the open violation of law—an apology for atrocious crime—a declaration under the sign manual of the sworn guardians of the public peace, that the past outrages are excusable, and that future ones may be perpetrated with impunity."

* It is true, they did not suppose it possible that, in this city, with its worthy citizens, most of whom are the friends of order and of Law, with its Mayor, and his one hundred and sixty police men, the first and only temple of Liberty in the nation, would be "permitted" to be attacked by a rabble from other parts, or destroyed by incendiaries from other states.

† The fact is, the mob assembled early in the evening, and did not disperse until after 10 o'clock. The moment a demonstration of their intention was made, the Mayor was sent for. The Police Committee say, the *Mayor was absent at the time*, as if that was a sufficient justification for a vigilant officer, who although he heard of it, *as soon as he could be found*, did not proceed *towards the scene of action, till all was again quiet*, and the mob had dispersed, so that for nearly two hours, more than two thousand respectable women were exposed to the insults of a lawless mob, and the lives and property of citizens in danger, and yet the Mayor was not in his office; he "was not to be found." May we, as citizens contributing towards his salary, ask where he was?

nesday,) that notice was sent to the Mayor's office, that his presence was required to quell a disturbance at the door. The Mayor was not at his office, but *as soon as he could be found*, and *heard of it*, he was proceeding to it when he ascertained that *all was again quiet; the assemblage had dispersed*. He was informed that stones had been thrown at the building, and that the people assembled there were much excited. The Committee have heard, (but not having been able to trace the report to any responsible source, they refrain from repeating the expressions,) that those who were in the building made use of *very indiscreet* and *intemperate* language, *greatly calculated to increase the irritation*. The person to whom this is chiefly ascribed, is one of those strangers, who, unconnected with our city and its institutions, came here merely for the purpose of participating in this dedication. It appears from a letter addressed to the Mayor, (see Appendix I,) by the President of the Board of Managers, that while "the Female Anti-Slavery Society were holding a public meeting," and "whilst Angelina E. Grimké Weld, of South Carolina, was addressing the meeting," the "house was assaulted by a ruthless mob, who broke the windows, alarmed the women, and disturbed the meeting very much by yelling, stamping, and throwing brickbats and other missiles through the windows." But the disturbance *did not last long*; the crowd soon *dispersed*, and *all was again quiet*. It appears that the Mayor *being absent*, and the police force being at that time *extremely weak there*,* (as no disturbance had been anticipated,) it was thought expedient by the City Solicitor to suggest to the police officers not to make arrests of persons at that time, as an attempt to carry away the prisoners might lead to a successful rescue, and would, even if this did not occur, so weaken the police force on the ground, as to prevent their checking the tendency to a riot, as they succeeded in doing. The *Mayor was absent at the time*, and the advice of the City Solicitor was not only *well meant*, but has been considered by many who were on the spot, to have been the most judicious measure which, under existing circumstances, could be adopted to prevent greater destruction to the building, or injury to the large crowd which was assembled in it; many of whom were colored people, *indiscriminately seated with the white*, and whose lives it was a great object to secure from the violence of the mob.

On the morning of the 17th, an interview took place between the Mayor and a committee of the Managers, who delivered to him the letter marked I. In that letter, and in the interview, the Committee expressed the intention of the Managers to hold meetings, morning, noon, and evening, of the "Female Convention of American Women," of the "Free Produce Convention," of the "Methodist Anti-Slavery Society," and of the State Anti-Slavery Society," and to continue to meet in their building from time to time, as occasion may require, and they add:

"And we call upon thee, as Chief Magistrate of the city, to protect us and our property, in the exercise of our Constitutional rights, peaceably to assemble and discuss any subject of general interest."

This interview led to no satisfactory result. Both the parties that met, had no doubt the same great object at heart, that the peace of the city should not be broken; but their mode of arriving at this result was different; the Committee wished their meetings to continue uninterrupted; and the Mayor, *believing that those meetings were the causes of the past as well as the anticipated disturbances*, was anxious to dissuade them from further adding to the excitement which already existed; and he was particularly desirous that they should forego their *evening meetings*. He told them that the po-

* Shame, shame.

lice force was very small ; that during the day he could put down almost any disturbance, but that *after night his power was very much impaired* ; that at night disturbances were more difficult to quell ; and he would give them *no assurance* that if they persisted in their efforts to hold evening meetings, the police was able to afford to them an *adequate and effective protection*. But he promised that he would do all in his power ; that he would *attend in the evening*, and endeavor by addressing the crowd to induce them to disperse ; at any rate he would be with them, and give them all the assistance in his power.

As their meeting was to be at 8 o'clock, he summoned the police force to be *at his quarters* at an early hour ; he requested some active citizens, whose courage and firmness were known to him, to meet him also there ; he *consulted* with some of his most *judicious friends* as to the state of affairs ; and he used every exertion during the day to produce *indirectly* upon the Managers a favorable *influence*, that should convince them of the *necessity of closing their Hall in the evening*.

The powers of the Mayor to guard against the commission of crime, or to arrest those who meditate the execution of it, are indeed very limited. He has power to secure an offender ; he may watch a suspected individual, but until an actual breach of the peace occurs, his authority is very restricted, and he must needs use it with great caution and prudence. Were our preventive police invested with greater powers, our city might have been spared the deep mortification of the events of that night. In other countries where the arm of the magistrate is strong, not only to arrest the offender, but also to anticipate the perpetration of crime, and even to interfere (when occasion justifies it,) to *prevent the recurrence of those causes* which may *incite others to it*, an event *like the recent one* can *readily be prevented*. There the *magistrate* would have had **AUTHORITY TO CLOSE THE BUILDING** ; he might have placed a military force around it, and have guarded all the avenues to it ; he might by a military force have dispersed the first nucleus of a mob ; but such harsh measures are as inconsistent with the spirit of our people, and the genius of our institutions, as they are with the letter of our laws. With us, however, such powers have never yet been required ; although our police has but a very limited physical power, there is in the well directed influence of public opinion, a moral force which has heretofore always sufficed to preserve the public peace. This system, the happiest, soundest, and best of all, can continue only so long as there continues to be, on the part of individuals, a disposition to respect and **SUBMIT TO PUBLIC OPINION** ;* and on the part of the public at large, a keen sensibility to every attempt to disturb the public peace, or to encroach upon private rights.

Had the advice of the Mayor been complied with, and an announcement been made at an early hour in the day that the *Hall would be closed* during the evening, it is probable that *no breach of the peace would have occurred* ; but the Managers had unfortunately adopted the opinion that they would not be justifiable in yielding their own wishes and plans to what they may have considered illiberal prejudices on the part of the public ; and that while they kept within the bounds of the law, they were entitled to and could not fail to receive adequate protection from the constituted authorities.† It does not belong to this Committee to express an opinion on this subject. Every individual can and will judge for himself of the propriety and expediency of the course adopted by the Managers.

* If, as the Mayor says, "public opinion makes mobs," how long will it be before mobs make public opinion ?

† If they did, they were wofully mistaken.

The Mayor was waited upon in the course of the afternoon by several gentlemen, interested in or connected with the Pennsylvania Hall, to all of whom he repeated his wishes. After 6 o'clock in the evening, two of those gentlemen expressed their concurrence in his views,* and promised to urge the matter with their friends. They left his office to consult with their friends; and subsequently returned with an *invitation* to the Mayor to come up to the Hall and confer with them. He went up accompanied by a few of his friends, among whom was Captain Thomas Hayes, whose assistance and co-operation in the evening the Mayor had that morning solicited. In the assemblage which they found in front of the Hall, he saw a man haranguing the crowd, and exciting them against the abolitionists. The Mayor seized the speaker, and removed him from the scene of excitement. He then entered the building where the Managers were assembled; and one or more of his friends followed him in. A long and somewhat doubtful consultation took place among them. They asked whether he, as Mayor of the city, would require of them to close their Hall. He disclaimed this intention, telling them that he had no authority to require this from them, or he *would have done so* at a much earlier hour of the day. He could not compel, but he would advise the adoption of that course. At last, they all assented to the proposition, and accompanied him to the front door of the Hall; where, in a short but emphatic address,† he informed the crowd around it that the Managers had agreed not to open their Hall that evening, but to place their keys in his hands; and by every consideration which the subject and the occasion could prompt, he urged them to desist from all illegal acts, and to disperse and return to their homes. The crowd consisted then of about *three hundred persons, very young men, chiefly boys and striplings*, and some respectable persons attracted there by curiosity.‡ No signs of violence were manifested by them; and at the close of his address, they *applauded his views*, gave him *three cheers*, *clapped their hands*, and *expressed* their acquiescence in his wishes. The Committee have felt anxious to fix the precise time at which this circumstance occurred; and from the concurrent information of many, they think it must have been shortly after sunset, or at or about a quarter after 7 o'clock. The Mayor then *returned to his office*, and the *crowd for the most part followed him*. He directed some of his friends to remain at or near the building, to *watch the movements of the people there*; to communicate to all the arrangement that had been made; and to urge upon all to retire at once.

He desired also the Managers to disperse their own friends; to station persons on the leading avenues to the building, to inform those that were coming that the Hall was closed, and to prevent their approaching it; and he particularly urged the expediency that their invited guests, and the colored people chiefly, should be earnestly advised not to come near to it.

It has been stated in a publication, that "the Mayor received the keys," (of the Hall,) "put them in his pocket, and went down to his office." The Mayor has positively denied having received them at that time, and the Committee, anxious to ascertain the exact statement of fact, have made further

* Neither the Managers, nor any persons authorized by them, did concur with the Mayor in his views in relation to this matter, so far as such views have been made known to us; we think they were as erroneous, as his conduct was puerile and cowardly.

† This "emphatic address" of the Mayor to "his police," the peaceable little mob of "three hundred" "very young men, chiefly boys and striplings," will be found at page 140.

‡ The Mayor has one hundred and sixty watchmen, besides a large number of scavengers and workmen, all of whom he had a right to call upon,—and yet could not disperse this little mob of peaceable little boys!

inquiries, which have led to the following information. When the arrangement was made in the building with the Managers, the keys were not at hand; they are supposed to have been in the care of one of the two watchmen in the service of the Managers. After the Mayor had left the spot, the two gentlemen whom *he had charged to remain there* to watch the crowd, (Captain Thomas Hayes, and Mr. Olmsted, the City Solicitor,) *were accosted* in the street, (near the corner of Mulberry and Sixth streets,) *by Mr. Barry*, (the silent watchman, whose family were to be accommodated in the Hall,) *who tendered to them* the keys. *Captain Hayes RECEIVED THEM*, and told Mr. Olmsted that *he would take them down to the Mayor*. Mr. Barry informed him that the keeper of the Hall was locked up in the building; there were five keys handed to him, four iron ones, which he *supposes* were the keys of the front stores, and one brass one, which he thinks was the key of the main entrance to the building; he went to the office of the Mayor, *who had not arrived there*. About ten minutes after Captain Hayes had been there, the Mayor came in; Captain Hayes pointed to the four iron keys *laying upon his office table*, and told him, that as the keeper was locked up in the Hall, he would keep the brass key to relieve him in case of need. *The Mayor assented* to this proposition. Neither then, nor at any time since, has he ever had *the key of the main door*. Captain Hayes *has always retained it, and has it yet* in his possession. Captain Hayes informed the Mayor, that when he left the Hall all was quiet. *They remained together at the office*. It was then quite dark. *The Mayor began to entertain a lively hope* that all would pass off quietly, and that late as was the hour at which the arrangement for closing the Hall had been adopted, it might still prove sufficient to save the building from attack.

Soon afterwards, however, messengers arrived with information that the crowd was gathering; and that large collections of persons coming in from the northern districts had reinforced the mob. Mr. Olmsted came in, and stated that *they had commenced* an attack on the Hall, and that *all the public lights* in the neighborhood had been *extinguished*. Others came in with information that they were *battering down the doors*. The Mayor instantly rang his bell, ordered his men to form on Fifth street,* and marched with them with all speed up Fifth to Cherry street, and up Cherry towards the building; finding, however, the crowd very dense in Cherry street, and believing that their assistance would be more effectual if they could come up in front of the Hall, he turned back by the advice of his friends, to get into Cresson's alley, which is directly opposite to it. Taking in his *hands a watchman's rattle*, he directed his party to keep together, and as he approached the crowd, he sprang the rattle, and his men all shouted out at once to "support the Mayor." The crowd opened, and he passed with the police men through it, until he approached the building, where the work of destruction was making rapid progress. He then exclaimed to the *crowd*: "Shame! is there nobody here to support the law?"† No answer was given; for the first time certainly since the foundation of our city, the *voice* of her Chief Magistrate called upon his fellow citizens for assistance in support of the law, without receiving a hearty and encouraging respond. *It was evident* that those who were bent on evil *were in force* and resolute; and that *the thousands* who surrounded them looked on with deep interest, but with no desire to arrest the progress of destruction. The mob began to close upon the police, and to assail them. Several were knocked down; among these Mr. Miles, a very stout police officer, was knocked down and so se-

* Why was this not done before, when the peaceable little mob of "three hundred" "boys and striplings" were there applauding their valiant Mayor?

† Not even a Mayor—a police officer—or a police committee?

verely bruised, that his life was at one time believed to be in danger. Not an arm was raised, not a voice in that large assemblage was heard in support of the *city authorities*. Heretofore the cry of "support the Mayor" had always raised, as it were, instantaneously a powerful auxiliary force from among the bystanders. It seemed now of no avail. The Mayor might undoubtedly have continued with his few, faithful police officers, to make fight against the *thousands that surrounded him*. But what effect could it have had? could he have saved the building? could the few have checked the work of the many? When abandoned by all who might have assisted him, when his voice had lost its wonted influence, it *seemed to him* evident that any exertions to continue the struggle on *his part*, could not have saved the Hall, but would have *ended in the annihilation* of his small party. The contest appeared to him too unequal, and the Mayor did not deem it his duty to prolong it.*

The only persons that succeeded in entering into the building were Captain Hayes, and Mr. Miller of the police. They became separated from the Mayor in the crowd, and pushing for the entrance of the Hall, they penetrated with considerable difficulty through its *dark passages*. They found the *doors at the head of the stairs locked*; and being foiled in their attempt to proceed in that direction, they went out of the building, turned up Haines' street, and *entered the Hall by the back door*; they made their way to the room up stairs, where three fires *had already been kindled*. Those who were in the building are supposed to have retired by one of the staircases, while Captain Hayes and Mr. Miller ascended the other; but ~~in~~ FINDING HOW FEW HAD GONE UP, they RETURNED to the room, and addressing Captain Hayes by name, they advised him to withdraw. He refused to do so, and was putting out the fires, when he was seized by one of them, who gave him a sudden jerk, and threw him down. Mr. Miller was served in the same way. There were in the room, as he supposes, from twelve to twenty persons†—they were neither disguised nor disfigured, but Captain Hayes did not recognise among them any one that he knew, though he himself seemed to be known to them. Their treatment of him indicated that while they did not wish to do him harm, they were resolved not to be interfered with in the object they had undertaken. Captain Hayes and Mr. Miller, finding themselves unsupported by their friends, and overpowered by numbers, reluctantly withdrew from the building.

On going into the street, they saw the engines playing on the property adjoining to the Hall, and they heard many in the crowd directing the fire companies not to play upon the Hall itself, or else that their engines and hose would be destroyed.

Perhaps no circumstance so powerfully displays the extent of the feeling which prevailed in the immense assemblage, as the fact that the firemen, whose zeal and undaunted courage have long been the boast of our city, were, for the first time within our remembrance, prevented from lending their aid to rescue the Hall from conflagration. Had they been permitted to play upon it, they *probably might have saved it*, as they saved all the property that adjoined it; but the deep excitement which pervaded the mob was made manifest in the control which they exercised over the efforts of the fire companies.

Such is, as far as the Committee have been able to ascertain, and, as they

* "Discretion is the better part of valor." For

"He who fights and runs away
May live to fight another day.
But he who is in battle slain
Shall never rise to fight again."

† Quite an overmatch for the Mayor and his "one hundred and sixty men!"

firmly believe, a brief sketch of the "circumstances attending and connected with the destruction of Pennsylvania Hall."

The building, which seemed *doomed to destruction*, was burnt down *in the presence of thousands of our citizens*, without a single arm being raised in its defence, save that of the Mayor and of his faithful followers. Had the gallant and daring spirit, with which Captain Hayes volunteered his services, been imitated but by one-twentieth part of that assemblage, the riot would undoubtedly have been quelled and the building saved. But no one, neither the friends of the building,* nor the friends of order in general,† yielded any assistance on the occasion. Perhaps, if *but a single effort* had been made to support the police; if *a solitary voice* had been heard to respond to the cry of "support the Mayor," that voice, however feeble, might have been re-echoed from other parts of the crowd, so as at last to give to public authority the *semblance of force*.

Of the subsequent disturbances alluded to in the resolution of Councils, a more satisfactory account can be given.

The deep excitement, produced by the events of the 17th, could not subside at once. Angry and turbulent spirits, who fancied they saw in the destruction of the Hall a warrant for further disturbances, attempted to continue their lawless outrages on subsequent nights. But they soon found that the city authorities, though overmatched on one night, were not annihilated. Public opinion, returning to its former healthy state, restored to the police that confidence and that force which it should *never have lost*. The active exertions of the Mayor, the Recorder, and other city authorities, seconded by the zealous and fearless co-operation of many good citizens, succeeded in at once quelling every attempt to raise other riots; and the Committee have pleasure in stating that they are advised, on the best authority, that in no instance after that, was there any property of any amount destroyed, or person injured, within the corporate limits of the city.

Many arrests have been made of persons suspected of a participation in the riot, and while they are awaiting their trial, the Committee feel it a duty not to attempt to particularize the names of the parties implicated, or the charges brought against them.

The Mayor received from some of those who were *connected* with the Hall, letters requesting his assistance in the protection of their individual property; as appears from the documents K, L, and M, hereto annexed.

The Committee express no opinion as to the rights of individuals to "decline any attempt to protect the property" they own; and, while they call upon the public authorities to lend assistance, to withdraw themselves all support from those authorities.

It is sufficient to state, that whatever fears the writers of those letters may have entertained, and however unwilling they may have been to co-operate in the protection of their own property, no injury was done to it. The city authorities, assisted by numberless good citizens, protected them most efficiently. A few resolute and well armed police officers, stationed in Mr. Webb's house, were found sufficient to secure it against any injury.

In conclusion, the Committee beg leave to add, that it was *a melancholy night for the city of Philadelphia*, and that it *must ever be the source of mortifying recollections to her citizens*, that her heretofore spotless charac-

* Nor the Mayor, nor the police, nor the City Solicitor, nor the police committee, nor any member of the Council, nor any other officer of the city!

† The Mayor had previously "desired the Managers to disperse their own friends; to station persons on the leading avenues to the building, to inform those that *WERE COMING* that the Hall was closed, and to prevent their approaching it," &c. so that this insinuation comes with a bad grace from the Mayor or his official advisers.

ter should have received so deep a stain. It should be to all good citizens a solemn warning, never, on any account and *by any provocation*, to permit the majesty of the law to be trampled under foot by violent and reckless individuals. However excusable the excitement may ever appear to be, it can never be tolerated without jeopardizing our dearest and most valuable rights. *He that remains neutral on an occasion of this kind, may be considered as taking part with the enemies of the law.* The mere admission of the principle, that good may flow out of evil, and that the impurities of the social or political atmosphere can be removed by the storms of popular turbulence, is the first downward step in the course of moral and civil degradation. We hold our liberties and our rights indeed by the most precarious of all tenures, if the acts of a mob can receive any countenance from any good citizen. When, instead of the cold and impartial trial which the law provides, we admit that the populace may in any case be permitted to exercise their tremendous power, to punish what they deem guilt or indiscretion, what security remains? They become not only the executioners, but the prosecutors, the witnesses, and the judges. Admitting that on this occasion, any of the *reports of indiscreet or unpatriotic speeches*, ascribed to some of the persons who spoke in the Hall, were true, (and it is but justice to say they have been most positively denied,) what evidence had the mob that they had been uttered? or what propriety was there in involving, in indiscriminate destruction, the property of those who perhaps never countenanced or approved of such speeches? It was a most fortunate circumstance, (and perhaps the only one in the dark drama which we may contemplate with some satisfaction,) that no lives were lost, and no person seriously wounded. *But was this the result of any kind consideration on the part of the rioters?* Had the Managers persevered, (as until after sunset they seemed determined to do,) in holding their meeting; and had the assault been made when some two or three thousand persons were gathered in the Hall, the fate of the building would probably, have been the same;* and the mind shudders at the contemplation of the number of human beings whose remains would have been buried under the burning ruins of the Hall. What would have been the feelings of the Managers in such a case? how could they have justified their persevering firmness of purpose? what would have been the feelings of the active perpetrators in that outrage, when the morrow's sun would have lighted the scene of their devastation? what would then have been the feelings of the thousands who passively looked on this outrage, and withheld their active co-operation, when it was invoked by the Chief Magistrate of their city? Such might probably have been the result of the control which the mob WAS PERMITTED to assume. Now it falls upon those whom the voice of many has censured as indiscreet or imprudent. Another day, a mob influenced by this example, acting under a delusion which may not be easily removed, will assail others with even less cause, or without any motive whatever, save popular and misguided excitement. In one city, the mob assails those who are supposed to be hoarding up flour, so as to enhance its price. In another, persons supposed to be connected in some nefarious scheme of banking, are without proof or trial involved in danger and ruin. In another city, some unoffending females, worshipping their God after the manner of their fathers, see their sanctuary invaded by a ruthless mob, and only secure their lives by fleeing at the midnight hour, from the crumbling ruins of their once happy and peaceful retirement. Such have been the effects of mobs within a few years, in cities but little distant from ours. Our own city has followed the baneful example, and unless public opinion shall recover its healthy tone, and our citizens with one heart and one

* Would probably not have been the same.

hand, unite in vindicating and asserting the supremacy of the law, it is easy to foresee that we shall soon have only to choose between the extremes of that insecurity of life and property which flows from the government of a mob, or the more degrading state of security to both, obtained by the sacrifice of civil liberty.

JOHN S. WARNER, *Chairman.*
 A. FERGUSON,
 GEORGE HANDY,
 ISAAC ELLIOTT,
 JOHN P. WETHERILL,
 J. L. FENIMORE.

Committee on Police.

July 2d, 1838.

A P P E N D I X.

A.

Copy of a letter addressed by *John S. Warner*, Chairman of the Committee on Police,

To *Daniel Neall*, Esq., President of the Board of Managers of Pennsylvania Hall:

Sir,—You will see from the enclosed Preamble and Resolution that the Police Committee are required to examine into and report to Councils upon the subject of the destruction of the Pennsylvania Hall on the night of the 17th of May last. I am instructed by the Committee to make this communication, and to inform you that they will meet for that purpose on *the 6th instant*, and if *you have any communication to make* on the subject, to address

Your obedient servant,

(Signed,) JOHN S. WARNER,

Chairman of Committee on Police.

[Enclosing a copy of the Preamble and Resolutions passed by Councils.]

B.

Philadelphia, Sixth month 5th, 1838.

To *John S. Warner*, Chairman of the Committee on Police:

Esteemed Friend,—Thy letter without date, enclosing a Resolution of Councils dated the 31st ultimo, requesting the Police Committee to investigate and report the circumstances attending the destruction of the Pennsylvania Hall, was this day received and laid before our Board of Managers with all practicable speed.

Thy letter mentions, said Committee will meet on the 6th instant, (tomorrow,) but does not state when or where; and adds, if we have any communication to make in relation thereto we might address the same to thee.

In answer to your unexpected and unsolicited invitation, I am instructed by the Managers to say, we are in possession of much information in relation to the matter alluded to, which we would be willing to communicate, *if it be the request of Councils*, or of the respectable Committee of which thou art Chairman: but as it would be of considerable length, the few hours allowed by you will be too short a period to prepare it. If, therefore, you wish to obtain the information, we must ask you to allow us a few days for that purpose, of which you will please to inform us.

Believing the information we possess *ought* to be laid *before the public*, we are preparing a statement, containing as far as practicable all that was

said or done in our Hall during the brief period of its existence, and also the circumstances attending its destruction, in order that our fellow citizens may see that we did not deserve the treatment we received from the mob, and that we *did* deserve that protection from the city authorities which we did not receive.

Respectfully thine, &c.,

DANIEL NEALL,
President of Board of Managers of P. Hall.

C.

Copy of a letter from *John S. Warner*, Chairman of the Committee on Police:*

PHILADELPHIA, June 7th, 1838.

To Daniel Neall, Esq.:

Dear Sir,—Your letter of the 5th instant, in reply to mine of the 4th instant, was duly received yesterday morning the 6th instant, and was laid before the Committee last evening; by whom I am instructed to communicate the following Resolution.

“*Resolved*, That when this Committee adjourns, we adjourn to meet in the Chamber of the Select Council, at 8 o'clock on Friday evening next, 8th instant, and that the Managers of the Pennsylvania Hall be notified that *they may* attend in person or by attorney, to make such *charges or allegations* as they may think fit.”

I have the honor to be, yours, &c.,

(Signed,) JOHN S. WARNER,
Chairman of the Committee on Police.

D.

PHILADELPHIA, Sixth month 7th, 1838.

[*Fifth Day Noon.*]

To *John S. Warner*, Chairman of the Committee on Police:

Thine of to-day is received, enclosing a Resolution of the Police Committee, informing us that we may attend in person or by attorney, *to-morrow evening*, “to make such *charges or allegations* as we may think proper.”

Our President is out of town, and of course we cannot get the Board of Managers together in time for them to make a reply to thy present communication; the time now allowed us is no longer than that which, we informed thee, would be too short to prepare a statement of the injuries we have received.

From the Resolution of Councils, it appeared to us as though they were anxious to obtain information in relation to the wanton destruction of our property, and we felt willing to aid in any impartial investigation which they might wish to make; but from thy last letter it would seem as though it was desired we should assume the attitude of *accusers*, which is a character the Managers have no desire to appear in.

If the Mayor has not done his duty, it does not lay with us to impeach him. And however injured we may have been, we entertain no vindictive feelings towards those who committed, or those who neglected to prevent or to suppress the riot;—we shall leave to other men, and to a higher power than man, the mode and measure of redress.

As we informed thee in our letter of the 5th instant, we shall at our earliest convenience make a full, fair, and public statement of that disgraceful outrage upon the constitutional right of the people, peaceably to assemble

* See a true copy of this letter on page 177.

and to discuss any subject of general interest which they may see proper; and will furnish each Council with a copy.

Respectfully,
(Signed,) *SAMUEL WEBB.*

E.

Communication from the Committee on Police, to the Managers of the Pennsylvania Hall:

At a meeting of the Committee on Police, held on the 8th of June, 1838, the following Resolution was passed:

"Resolved, That the Board of Managers of the Pennsylvania Hall, be invited to attend at an adjourned meeting of this Committee, to be held on Tuesday evening at 8 o'clock, in the Select Council Chamber, to give to this Committee such evidence as they may themselves possess, or as may be obtained by them from others, in order to enable this Committee 'to investigate the circumstances attending and connected with the destruction of Pennsylvania Hall.'

CITY HALL, June 8, 1838.

To the Board of Managers of Pennsylvania Hall:

Gentlemen:—I am instructed by the Committee on Police of the Select and Common Councils of the City of Philadelphia, to forward to you a copy of the above Resolution, and to invite *your attendance* and that of any witnesses you may deem it desirable to adduce, in order to enable this Committee to make the investigation referred to them; and I am instructed to add, that if you deem it proper *to be attended by your counsel* on that occasion, you may also invite their attendance. The Committee will meet on Tuesday the 12th instant, at 8 o'clock, P. M., in the Select Council Chamber.

Very respectfully, your obedient servant,

W. H. KEATING, *Secretary pro tem.*

[Addressed to *Daniel Neall, Esq.*, President of the Board of Managers of the Pennsylvania Hall.]

F.

Communication from the Committee, on Police to the Mayor of the City:

At a meeting of the Committee on Police, held on the 8th of June, 1838, the following resolution was passed.

"Resolved, That the Mayor of the City of Philadelphia be invited to attend at an adjourned meeting of this Committee (to be held on Tuesday evening next at 8 o'clock, in the Select Council Chamber,) to give to this Committee such evidence as he may himself possess, or as may be obtained by him from others, in order to enable this Committee 'to investigate the circumstances attending and connected with the destruction of Pennsylvania Hall.'

CITY HALL, June 8, 1838.

To *John Swift, Esq.*, Mayor of the City of Philadelphia:

Sir:—I am instructed by the Committee on Police of the Select and Common Councils of the City of Philadelphia, to forward to you a copy of the above Resolution, and to invite your attendance and that of any witnesses you may deem it desirable to adduce, in order to enable the Committee to make the investigation referred to them; and I am instructed to add, that if you deem it proper to be attended by your counsel, you may invite his at-

tendance on the occasion. The Committee will meet on Tuesday the 12th instant, at 8 o'clock, P. M., in the Select Council Chamber.

Very respectfully, your obedient servant,
W. H. KEATING, *Secretary pro. tem.*

G.

PHILADELPHIA, Sixth month 12th, 1838.

To *William H. Keating*, Secretary pro tem. of the Police Committee:

Respected Friend:—Thy last communication, inviting us to furnish to the Committee of Councils, this evening, any information which we may possess in relation to the destruction of the Pennsylvania Hall, has been received. In our letter of the 5th instant, we stated our intention to make a public statement of that disgraceful outrage. Time has not permitted us to prepare such a document, and we may doubt whether the period has yet arrived when the history of the short existence and destruction of the Pennsylvania Hall, would be dispassionately read and coolly decided upon. Of the time and manner of making such publication, we request to be permitted to judge hereafter, according to existing circumstances.

In respect to the call for information in relation to the investigation of the conduct of the Mayor of the city on that occasion, we have only to *repeat the views* contained in the letter of Samuel Webb, dated the 7th instant. To furnish such information would involve the necessity, in justice to that officer, of substantiating it by witnesses, and thus we should eventually assume the office of *informed* and of *prosecutors*. This office we have not sought, nor do we wish to be drawn into its exercise.

Our position is simply this: we erected a Hall for lawful objects, and used it only in the exercise of rights guaranteed by the Constitution to all American citizens. We built it under the protection of the law, and trusted it to the protection of the law—in the heart of the city—and when we had been assailed by lawless force, and were threatened with its repetition, we surrendered it at his request into the custody of the Chief Executive officer of the city of Philadelphia. It was not protected, and it perished from the assaults of the mob and the torch of the incendiary. Whether the Mayor of the city had the means under his control to protect the property, and did not exert them, or was not furnished with adequate resources for that object, we conceive can be readily and better ascertained from other sources than ourselves.

Respectfully thine, &c.

(Signed,) DANIEL NEALL,
President of the Board of Managers of the Pennsylvania Hall.

H.

To *John Swift*, Mayor:

Esteemed Friend:—The Managers of the Pennsylvania Hall are about to commence the dedication of their Hall to-day. We had engaged Samuel Barry and Gershom Craft, (two of the silent watch,) to act as door-keepers. We have this moment heard that all the silent watchmen had been ordered by thee to repair to the State House at 4 o'clock.* We would respectfully ask permission for these two men to remain at the Hall, to keep the boys from making a noise by running in and out of the Hall during the exercises.

Respectfully thine, &c.

(Signed,) SAMUEL WEBB.

Fifth Month 14th, 1838.

* If the Mayor thought there was no cause for alarm, why was this useless order given, unnecessarily to excite the "baser sort."

I.

PHILADELPHIA, Fifth month 17th, 1838.

To *John Swift*, Mayor of the City of Philadelphia:

Esteemed Friend :—Last evening, as the Female Anti-Slavery Society were holding a public meeting in the Pennsylvania Hall, situated on Delaware Sixth street, between Mulberry and Sassafras streets, whilst Angelina E. Grimké Weld, of South Carolina, was addressing the meeting, our house was assaulted by a ruthless mob, who broke our windows, alarmed the women, and disturbed the meeting very much, by yelling, stamping, and throwing brickbats and other missiles through the windows.

The audience consisted of more than three thousand persons, a majority of whom were respectable and intelligent women.

In our invitation to thee to attend the opening of our Hall, (dated the 4th day of the Fourth month last,) we mentioned that we should hold public meetings on the 14th, 15th, and 16th of this month. We now beg leave to inform thee that the Female Convention of American Women will meet in the saloon of the Pennsylvania Hall at 10 o'clock this morning; the Free Produce Convention at 2 o'clock, and the Convention of American Women at 4 o'clock, this afternoon; and the Methodist Anti-Slavery Society at 8 o'clock this evening. To-morrow the State Anti-Slavery Society will meet at 8 o'clock, and the Free Produce Convention at 10 o'clock, in the morning; the Convention of American Women will meet at 1 o'clock, and the Free Produce Convention will meet at 4 o'clock, in the afternoon; and the Pennsylvania State Anti-Slavery Society will meet at 8 o'clock in the evening; and we shall continue to meet in our building from time to time, as occasion may require; and we call upon thee as Chief Magistrate of the city, to protect us and our property, in the exercise of our constitutional right peaceably to assemble and discuss any subject of general interest.

Respectfully thine, &c.

Signed by direction of the Board of Managers of the Pennsylvania Hall Association.

(Signed,) DANIEL NEALL, *President of the Board.*
(Attest,) WILLIAM DORSEY, *Secretary.*

P. S. We herewith enclose a written placard,* numbers of which were posted up in various parts of the city. So far as we have seen, all appeared to be in the same hand writing. Our Committee will also furnish thee with the name of one of the ring-leaders of the mob. D. N.

K.

PHILADELPHIA, Fifth month 18th, 1838.

Friend John Swift :—I have just now been informed that my residence, No. 307 Mulberry street, is to be attacked by the mob this night. I therefore call upon the Mayor of the city, the Aldermen and Constables, to protect me and my property.

(Signed,)

SAMUEL WEBB.

Addressed—*John Swift*, Mayor of the City of Philadelphia.

L.

To the *Mayor* of the City of Philadelphia:

Sir :—The undersigned, Book and Job Printers, No 7 Carter's alley, having learned from many persons who have mingled among the mobo-

* Why did the Committee suppress that placard in their report?

crats during the last two days, that our office will be the first object of attack this evening, have deemed it proper to apprise you of the fact, inasmuch as the city and county are responsible for the property thus destroyed. We ourselves decline any attempt to protect the property, which exceeds three thousand dollars in value.

Respectfully, yours,

MERRIHEW & GUNN.

Saturday, May 19th, 1838.

Addressed—*Hon. John Swift*, present.

M.

PHILAD., May 19, 1838.

To the *Mayor* of the City:

Sir:—Understanding that an attack by a mob has been threatened upon the office of the Public Ledger, situated at the corner of Dock and Second streets, for this evening, we consider it our duty to inform you of the apprehensions numerous reports of such threats are likely to create, that you may take such measures as may be deemed necessary by you as a conservator of the public peace, to prevent an outrage of the kind.

Very respectfully, your obedient servants,

SWAIN, ABELL, & SIMMONS.*

12 o'clock, M.

Addressed to *Col. John Swift*, Mayor of Philadelphia, Mayor's Office.

* In the Public Ledger of this city, for July 20, 1838, we find the following letter to the publishers of that paper:

PHILADELPHIA, July 17th, 1838.

Gentlemen:—I received, late this evening, your note in relation to the observations of the Committee on Police, to which you take exceptions, and have laid the letter before the Committee. We regret that any thing in the Report should have appeared to you incorrect, or calculated to exhibit you in a position which you do not occupy.

Anxious to report to Councils every circumstance attending and connected with, not only the destruction of the Pennsylvania Hall, but also with "other consequent disturbances of the peace," the Committee had, in reply to an application to the Mayor for information, received from him your letter in connection with the other two; and were thereby led to believe (erroneously, as it now appears) that the apprehensions which you expressed in it, arose from your being in some measure connected with the Hall, as the authors of the other two letters were known to be. The statement was not intended to convey either praise or censure, this not being considered as embraced within the objects of their appointment: yet as it appears to be incorrect, they regret that they should have fallen into this error.

As to the second paragraph, to which you object, the Committee think that the quotation in it from the letter L, sufficiently connects it with that letter. The refusal expressed therein, by the writers of that letter, to protect their property, and the well known entire abandonment of his house, by the writer of the letter K, were supposed to justify the remarks as applicable to those letters. The Committee ever have refrained from expressing an opinion, leaving the matter to Councils. If this silence on their part can be interpreted into censure, the Committee cheerfully admit (from the information contained in your letter, that you were ready to aid in the protection of your property,) that you could not be liable to censure; and although none is expressed, yet the Committee regret that the sentence should have appeared to you ambiguous.

Yours, very respectfully,

JOHN S. WARNER, *Chairman P. C.*

From the following communication, it appears that the veracious police committee made another mistake. If out of three letters they have made mistakes in relation to two, of how much value are the statements made by such a committee!

To *Daniel Neall*, Esq.

In the Public Ledger of July 20th, we find it stated by John S. Warner, chairman of the Police Committee, that the writers of the letter marked "L" in the appendix to their "report," (meaning the undersigned,) "were known to be in some measure connected with the Hall." We should have felt it an honor to be "connected in some measure" with you in that noble building; but we are sorry to say that the *fact is not* as stated by John S. Warner. Neither as individuals, nor as a firm, were we connected with the Hall in any other way than by giving it our best wishes as a building dedicated to Free Discussion. You may make what use you please of this communication.

Respectfully, yours,

MERRIHEW & GUNN.

No. VI.

WE invite attention to the following able and unanswerable review of the "*Report in Councils*" on the late riot in this city. It is from the *Cincinnati Daily Gazette*, the leading Whig paper of the Great West; and from the pen of its learned and influential editor, CHARLES HAMMOND, Esq. It is not the production of an abolitionist, or of one personally interested in the Pennsylvania Hall, but of a disinterested citizen of another state, a profound and intelligent lawyer, examining the Report on its merits, and apart from the exciting influences of this locality,—the impartial and deliberate judgment of an honest and high-minded man, whose integrity was never impeached.

(From the *Cincinnati Daily Gazette*.)

The Committee appointed in May last, "to investigate and report to the Councils the circumstances attending and connected with the destruction of Pennsylvania Hall," made their report, of date July 2d. Nothing has been elicited to vary the character of that outrage as already presented to the public. Its daring enormity, and the humiliating imbecility of the police are left in full exposure. The willingness of the citizens to countenance the mob is distinctly asserted, and put forth as an apology for the police. And even an apology is attempted for the citizens themselves. Taking the report as a whole, it is a document of mischievous tendency. It is to be regretted that the inquiry was commenced. Indeed, it seemed at its origin to be a forlorn effort—a hopeless attempt to do something in a desperate case, that might efface a portion of the degradation attached to it.

It is lamentable that we should find, in this report, a resort to the vicious, shallow, nay, **WICKED EXCUSE FOR THE MOB**, that has become so common in the country. The *provocation* is industriously and prominently set out. And the Committee so present this *provocation* as to more than half impress it upon the reader, that it deserves from him a serious consideration. Here is their own language:

"However deeply the Committee may deprecate and censure the existence of that feeling [excitement]; however impossible it may be for them in any manner to justify or excuse it, they owe it to the cause of truth to declare that this *excitement*, (heretofore unparalleled in our city,) was occasioned by the determination of the owners of that building, and of their friends, to persevere in openly promulgating in it doctrines repulsive to the moral sense of a large majority of our community, and to persist in this course against the advice of friends, heedless of the dangers which they were encountering, or reckless of its consequences to the peace and order of the city."

The proposition assumed in this paragraph is alike derelict of just morals and sound policy. It is a violation of nature's great charter of free action and free discussion, within the pale of municipal law, for one man to foment himself into *excitement* against his fellow man, upon account of doctrines maintained, or opinions advanced, which are forbidden by no law. The engendering of such *excitement* is a hot-bed growth of most noxious character. Whence can one individual derive a right to sit in judgment upon his neighbor's conversation, to condemn it, and work himself into a passion in respect to it, if that conversation affects no private interest and violates no law? That a man becomes excited, because another man promulgates doctrines disagreeable to him, proves only that the excited party is saturate of presumptuous self-sufficiency. If under the influence of this *excitement* he becomes furious and lawless in his conduct, and arrogantly tramples upon the

undoubted rights of those against whom he is exasperated, do just morals permit that his *excitement*, in itself highly reprehensible, shall be alleged as an apology for its consequent outrage? It is but to state the proposition to secure for it utter condemnation. Yet this Philadelphia committee seriously urge this *excitement* as an apology for the persons who indulged it to the shame and disgrace of the city. That this is a departure from just morals, would seem too clear for controversy.

The impolicy of suggesting an unwarranted *excitement* as an apology for a flagitious wrong, one would suppose would be palpable to every reflecting mind. It spreads out a mantle to be thrown over every excess, in which vulgar malice and daring profligacy may be *excited* to engage. Every where, it is most impolitic to countenance such an impression. In a large city, bearing directly upon a ease of mob violence, and coming from a numerous portion of a public body charged with preserving the peace and securing the safety of the city, it is peculiarly and especially impolitic.

There is another matter worthy of remark, in the paragraph quoted. Is it true that the doctrines advocated in the Hall were "*repulsive to the moral sense of a large majority of the community*" of Philadelphia city? The Committee so assert, and the quietness with which the citizens at large witnessed the workings of the mob, gives countenance to the assertion. The question whether the doctrines promulgated and advocated, were violative of a just moral sense, may be waived for a moment. It is enough that the moral sense of the citizens of Philadelphia was justly and deeply outraged, by the congregation of strangers among them, to promulgate doctrines repulsive to that moral sense. And such being the fact, who can controvert the conclusion that an impulsive and speedy movement, in arrest of such inculcations, may be tacitly acquiesced in. It is an occasion for legal blindness and domestic silence, though not for official apologies. If such was the case in Philadelphia; if the Committee felt strong and clear assurance that the suppressed discussions were, in their very nature, morally repulsive to well regulated minds, there could certainly be no propriety in the vehement outpourings of reprobation in which the Committee indulge against the measures taken to stay their further progress. The natural argument runs thus. Whatever conduct is repulsive and abhorrent to the moral sense, necessarily arouses indignant sensations in the mind, and with this just indignation arises a strong natural impulse to put down the mischief. To effect this, some excess may be winked at.—With this train of reasoning the Committee work out an **APOLOGY FOR THE MOB**. But then immediately they shy off, as if startled at the foundation on which they have placed themselves.—This proceeding of the Committee shows that they felt the awkwardness of their position, in essaying to build up error upon error, grounding the whole upon the utterly untenable assumption, that the moral sense of the city was offended, justly, necessarily outraged, at the discussions in the demolished Hall.

There can be no worse offensive presumption, no arrogance more intolerable than that which assumes, in this country, to set up, for itself, a *moral sense* that may revolt at opinions and discussions, acceptable to large masses of the entire community. Men may be offended at doctrines which impugn party, sectarian, and peculiar tenets, but the offence is against no universal moral preception. *The slaveholder does not pretend that his moral sense is offended against the abolitionists.* His excitement is roused because his private interest is assailed. Nor do the men of the South hold it fit to feel furious at the familiarities of association between the sexes of different colors. Individuals make their colored mistresses, openly, members of their domestic establishments, and seek among white persons matrimonial

alliances for their colored offspring. No moral sense feels outraged at this. And a strong illustration is at hand, in the fact that the individual that now occupies the second office in the government, was selected for and chosen to that high station, with a full knowledge, on the part of the whole community, that he had married as a wife his own slave, and openly sustained his connubial relation with her. That he had educated his daughters, of mixed blood, in the best fashion of the country, and had secured for them white men as husbands! To this individual a very large numerical vote was given in Philadelphia, to place him where he now is. Where, then, was that moral sense which the Committee allege was justly outraged, by the discussions of the Hall? Surely that was a fit occasion for its sensibilities to take the alarm. And yet they were all quiescent:—a fact warranting the conclusion, that it was not an impulse of a legitimate moral sense, that set the mob in motion against the abolition Hall. On the contrary, every step of that movement is marked by feelings, in which a just moral sense could have no participation. The actors were excited by vulgar brutality, that indulges a rooted malice against the black man's elevation in society:—*the lookers on were chained into inactivity by the avarice of trade.* COTTON AND SUGAR BEREFT THEM OF MORAL SENSE, AND SUBSTITUTED COLD AND HEARTLESS CALCULATIONS OF SOUTHERN MARKETS AND SOUTHERN VISITERS. In our mercantile cities, the general tone of feeling towards the negro is much lower than the slaveholder of character tolerates in himself. Its main spring is the “truck and traffic of sordid avarice.” The poet's exclamation is of strict application:

“Trade, wealth, and fashion, call him still to bleed,
And holy men quote Scripture for the deed.”

In asserting that the moral sense of Philadelphia revolted at the discussions in the Pennsylvania Hall, the Committee have widely mistaken the true state of the case.—I am persuaded that, in making this assertion, they were not free from an admonishing consciousness, that it was of very questionable correctness.

In addition to the reprobation expressed by the committee against the owners of the Hall for persevering in the discussion, another cause of complaint is put forth against them; they were not willing to risk their own persons in defence of their property, and they have declined becoming accusers before the committee. Here is an instance of the different mediums through which men view the same facts, under different circumstances. Had the owners of the Hall marshalled themselves in battle array for its defence, that fact might well have been complained of as a provoking intermeddling with the operations of the police, adding by the personal presence of the alleged wrong-doers, additional provocation to that excited by the offence of the discussions. Good sense could not fail to see that such might be a very probable concomitant of active opposition, on the part of those against whom the anger of the mob was directed. *It was consequently both discreet and prudent for the owners to withdraw themselves from all confliction with the assailants.* If then they were properly absent, there can be no propriety in censuring them for that absence.

The other fact, that the owners shrunk from becoming accusers before the Committee, and declined any connexion with the investigation, is very easily accounted for, though it is natural enough that the Committee should not comprehend the motive that actuated them. The report shows that the Committee very soon disclosed a purpose, and a prepossession to maintain it, adverse to the owners and managers of the Hall; that purpose was to aggravate whatever could be adduced prejudicial to the owners of the Hall,

to mitigate, at some risk, the doings of the mob, and to white-wash from all blame the Mayor and his assistants. The purpose glares out to my vision in the second communication of the Committee to the owners, and the perception of it by them made it the dictate of self-security to keep aloof. The report consummates this purpose in the *impotent and hobbling efforts of untenable assumptions, broad assertions, and inferences all awry.*—Its *discolorations of principle, and its tortuous inductions of facts, shallow as they are, and feebly as they are presented,* nevertheless have enough of plausibility to mislead weak and biased minds. This demonstrates the discretion of the owners in declining to be a party to the investigation.

The preparation and publication of this report can be productive of public benefit to nobody. It proceeds upon a wrong foundation—half advocates most dangerous notions, makes poor apologies for manifest neglects, and exhibits to public view, in all its helpless and naked imbecility, the *Philadelphia police.* As a strong illustration of this imbecility, one fact may be stated. The officers intermixed with the incendiaries in the act of extending the fire, surrounded with light enabling them to recognise every body. They did not recognise the perpetrators, nor did they bethink them of taking any measures for after identification!! They witnessed the crime—they saw, they mixed with those engaged in its commencement, progress and completion, and they remained in blind ignorance of the criminals! There is one valuable end to which this report may lead. *It may awaken Philadelphia to the necessity of new regulating her police, of infusing into its organization more power, and into its action more vigilance and more vigor.* Scenes of frequent occurrence in all our cities speak, trumpet-tongued, the necessity of increased powers, in every department of city police. The voice must soon be heard and heeded; it could not too soon attract serious attention.

NO. VII.

SALE OF THE RUINS OF THE HALL BY THE SHERIFF.

An individual undertook to supply the Pennsylvania Hall Association with certain materials and workmanship, *within a given time—the size, the quality, and the time,* being all specified in the written contract.

This contract he did not fulfil, whereby we lost much more than would have paid the amount claimed by him. We complained of this, from time to time; but he assured us he would make such a discount from his bill as would satisfy all of us. This afterwards he would not do, and although we offered to leave it to the decision of three disinterested men (to be mutually agreed upon) he declined doing so, and commenced a suit at law.

By a new mode of procedure under a new law, he obtained what is sometimes called “a snapt judgment,” without our being present, and without our knowledge. We applied to the court to open the judgment, and *to allow us a trial by jury,* but the court decided we had “*no legal defence!*”—consequently there appeared to be no alternative but to submit to a Sheriff’s sale. We trust that neither the managers nor the stockholders of the Hall, nor the friends of the poor slave, will have any cause to regret this vain attempt to extort what is not justly due, while the declaration has herein been fulfilled, “*He that diggeth a pit shall fall therein.*”

NOTE.—It was the intention of the Managers of the Hall to have inserted in this History the decision of the Examiners appointed to award damages, together with the testimony that might be taken before them. That decision, however, is so long forthcoming, that it has been thought expedient to delay the work for it no longer.

Philadelphia, November 15th, 1838.

P. S. Since the foregoing work was printed, the late Sheriff has published a small pamphlet in vindication of the part which he acted during and subsequent to "that awful violation of the law, which occurred on the 17th of May last." One paragraph in that pamphlet makes it necessary to add a little more of the conversation which took place between that officer and the committee, (see page 139.) When he said that his force consisted of only three men, he was reminded of his right to call upon the *posse comitatus*. He replied, "What is the use, if, when I call upon them, they will not come?" He then proposed that, instead of *his* collecting special constables to protect the building, *we* should do so for him. The committee told him if he would go up to the Hall at that time, a large number of citizens were collected there, from whom they had no doubt he could obtain five hundred men, who would willingly assist him in keeping the peace—that they had just come from there, and that numbers had expressed their readiness to assist the proper officers whenever deputed. One of the committee gave it as his opinion, that the Sheriff could obtain fifteen hundred citizens to assist him, if he wanted them. The Sheriff still urged upon *them* the providing of persons to assist him. Having previously informed him that they were not a quorum of the Board, and having no authority to bind it, they retired.

CERTIFICATE.

"The subscriber, being one of the Grand Jury, on the 17th of Fifth month last, was returning home from the Grand Jury Room, when I met the Committee of the Managers of the Pennsylvania Hall, who informed me they were going to wait upon the Sheriff, and invited me to accompany them. I did so, and was present during the whole of that interview—it lasted between one and two hours, during which much conversation took place between the Sheriff and the Committee.

"The Sheriff, after consulting with his counsel, appeared very desirous that the Managers should furnish the men necessary to defend the Hall. The Committee expressed the opinion that there were large numbers of men at the Hall whom the Sheriff could get, if he wanted them. But I did not understand the Committee as saying or implying that they (the Committee or the Managers) would furnish men. The Sheriff asked them to advise their friends to keep inside the building, and not increase the crowd on the pavement, to which they assented. JOSEPH M. TRUMAN."

■ A few Plates, similar to those contained in this book, have been printed on larger paper, suitable for framing. They may be had at the Anti-Slavery Office, No. 29 N. Ninth street.



